

# PEACE NEWS

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## Public Affairs COMMENTARY

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE talks between the Czech Government and the representatives of the Sudeten minority have shown how wide the difference is between the two parties—an unbridgeable gulf, as the chairman of the Sudeten German Party described them. The two parties are, however, prepared to carry on the negotiations after they have had time to reconsider the whole position.

Lord Runciman's presence seems to have created an atmosphere which toned down the bitterness that might have shown itself, and which might have made further negotiations impossible.

The essence of the problem, however, still remains the same and in the end must involve the foreign policy of the Czechoslovakian State.

Herr Henlein, the leader of the Sudetens, made this clear in an article he wrote for a German Nazi paper which, in tone, was remarkable for its moderation. He wrote:—

To look upon Czechoslovakia as an instrument of power against Germany is irreconcilable with the striving of the Sudeten German people who wish to be a supporting pillar of the Czechoslovak State while securing respect for their autonomous living rights...

The abandonment of the Czech alliances with Russia and France in their present form will be the ultimate test of any settlement. Against this Russia, if not France, will strain every nerve and every resource of propaganda. The appointment to a few State posts of the German minority is but the minutest contribution to the problem as a whole.

### HUNGARY AND THE LITTLE ENTENTE

HUNGARY, like Bulgaria, has won by peaceful means her right to rearm, but on condition that she signs a non-aggression pact with her neighbours and guarantees their frontiers. The Little Entente has followed the lead of the Balkan Entente, with the exception that the question of minorities is left over for further discussion and is no doubt dependent upon a settlement being reached by Czechoslovakia over her German minorities.

This agreement which Hungary has entered into can hardly be greeted with pleasure by Germany. The exact significance of this unexpected development will no doubt show itself in due course.

The startling Italian suggestion that the agreement heralds the break-up of the Little Entente and the substitution of a grouping excluding Czechoslovakia is offset by Czechoslovakia's welcome to the agreement.

### ECONOMIC STRUGGLE IN EASTERN EUROPE

ADMIRAL HORTHY, the Hungarian Regent, is on a state visit to Germany. This is yet another of those visits of friendship which have a meaning behind them. Hungary and Germany are already closely bound economically, especially now that Hungary's old partner, Austria, has become an integral part of the German Reich. Hungary and Germany have equal interests in the minority problem of Czechoslovakia.

There are, however, serious moves being made by the Western Powers to detach Eastern Europe from German economic influence, and Admiral Horthy's visit is no doubt a move to (continued on back page)

## THE PEOPLE BACK "G.L.'s" MOVE FOR PEACE IN EUROPE

### HOPE THAT ARMS BURDEN WILL BE LIFTED

DESPITE passive acquiescence in rearmament by the "man-in-the-street" in this country, a recent incident in a small country town shows that Mr. George Lansbury's efforts to gain statesmen's support for a peaceful solution of European problems have aroused spontaneous and enthusiastic support.

In the Hertfordshire town of Berkhamsted a news-reel was being shown in the local cinema. The audience sat in stony silence while militarism in various forms was duly "boosted." At the very end, however, Mr. Lansbury was shown setting off on his present peace mission to South-Eastern Europe, and he made a short speech.

His appearance was greeted with loud clapping, and some people appreciated the significance of the contrast with militarism so much that they stood up and cheered.

The common people at any rate realize that peace cannot be secured on the basis of national rivalries but only if the interests of humanity are put first.



GEORGE LANSBURY

### Welcome in Balkans

FIRST messages received from Mr. Lansbury and his colleagues of Embassies of Reconciliation speak of an extraordinarily warm welcome in Sofia, their first stopping place.

Mr. Lansbury was assured that he "ad come at the most fortunate moment; and the ordinary people greeted him in the street as one who spoke their mind on the question of peace."

The group was received by the principal members of the Government, by leaders of the Cooperative Movement and of the Opposition.

Mr. Lansbury also visited hospitals, markets, and villages. A communiqué issued after the interview with the Prime Minister declared:

Mr. Lansbury congratulated the Prime Minister on his signature at Salonika of the recent agreement between the Balkan countries renouncing the use of force among themselves and thus laying the foundation of Balkan peace. Dr. Kiosseivanov (Premier and Foreign Minister) in acknowledgment hoped that the agreement might pave the way to a more general rapprochement. He defined Bulgarian policy as one of peace and good will, a policy of friendliness with all and enmity with none...

He warmly supported the calling of a conference of the nations to promote international economic reconstruction, regarding such a step as indispensable to world peace. Speaking of the needs of his own country and of his government's hope for an extension of trading relations with Western Europe, he emphasized Bulgaria's need to spread her markets as widely as possible.

Mr. Lansbury earlier received M. Paul Groueff, Counsellor to King Boris, who brought a personal message of welcome and good wishes telephoned by His Majesty from Italy.

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### Inside Germany

## People "Fed Up" With War

### BUT NAZIS PURSUE RASH POLICY

From a Correspondent

AFTER two weeks in Germany, speaking nothing but German, listening and talking continuously to Germans, I am convinced that there is hardly a soul in Germany who is not "Bis an die Nase voll vom Krieg" ("fed up to the teeth with war"). I had that at least ten times from various people.

But Germans think Hitler can bluff his way through Bohemia, and further, without war, and they are prepared to get what they can so long as it doesn't mean fighting. The danger is that they think they won't have to fight and they will go so far that they won't be able to draw back.

### EFFECT OF PROPAGANDA

I stressed continuously the fact that the Peace Pledge Union and other bodies in England want economic reconciliation now—a pooling of resources. This, I was assured, was what the German people (but not the Nazi leaders) want.

The problem is terribly difficult. Propaganda is so cunning and shameless that even the most enlightened have delusions. The people are lied into a support of Hitler.

Everywhere I met the complaint that other nations should not pry into Germany's internal affairs—it was like poking one's nose into the private life of one's neighbour. Yet when I said that the way Germany acted now and tomorrow was a matter of life and death to the whole world there was no answer.

The problem is how to relieve the sufferings of Germany in such a way as not to give kudos to fascism. Certainly, fighting the Germans will only drive them further into the tools of their oppressors, but so may conciliating them.

### PEOPLE TO PEOPLE

Mere economic reconciliation is not enough. The Van Zeeland Report may be a start on what we want to do, but it is the method of bringing reconciliation which is vital.

Somehow we have to speak directly, people to people—all our governments, however good their intentions—and mostly they are suspect—are bound by diplomatic usages and ideas which were clumsy even at the Congress of Vienna, and are now impossible. Our task is to devise and carry out plans which will give direction and practical application to the universal revolt against war.

## Racial Clashes in S. Africa

By Sir John Harris

(Secretary, Anti-Slavery & Aborigines Protection Society)

IN Africa south of the Zambesi a big human struggle is proceeding, a struggle which today is producing poverty and discontent, and which tomorrow will give rise to race hatred.

The cause of this is partly economic, partly racial, and partly religious; all of these causes are interlocked in an effort to "keep the nigger down." It is, in plain language, a modern assertion of slave mentality.

Booker Washington used to say with truth "There is all the difference between working and being worked." The South African is "being worked," and he does not like that particular form of economics.

For Great Britain, with her 1,500,000 native workers in Africa, this South African struggle is of vital moment. It may even be that as Great Britain is in fact a coloured Empire, this struggle will decide her very existence as a Great Power.

### TWO POLICIES

Africa south of the Zambesi comprises Protectorates like Basutoland, the semi-Dominion of Southern Rhodesia, and the Union of South Africa.

The native policies outside the Union are fundamentally different from those within the Union and the question is, which of these two policies will ultimately prevail; the British House of Commons must take its full responsibility for any surrender of the external territories to the native policy of the South African Union.

The first essential of South African native policy is low-paid labour—solely for white enterprises. Within the last twenty years all legislation has been directed toward this end.

The vital fact to appreciate is that the principle has been laid down officially that the native is not a person in a lower state of society; he is outside that society, he is a being created differently from the white races; in short, he is an outcast from civilized society.

In more senses than one this doctrine goes beyond the doctrine of old-time slavery. It has recently been reinforced by declaring that the native, because of his colour, and colour alone, can never have any part or association with white races, either in Church or State.

### NO OTHERS DO IT

It is important to bear in mind with regard to this part of native policy that the government in South Africa is the only government in the world which has adopted it. But defenders of this doctrine now go on to assert that it is the divine will; that the Almighty declared from the beginning that "A servant of servants shall he be"; this argument is then concluded by saying "and who are we that we should attempt to alter the settled work of Almighty God?"

The legislation giving effect to this doctrine has of recent years all been directed toward producing more native labour. There was first the Land Separation Act of 1913, which, even when it has completed its full cycle, will only leave the native about eight acres per head, as against 131 acres per head to the white immigrants.

The object of this legislation was to drive the natives from their land and



comes into white industries.

Then came the Colour Bar Act under which, by curious methods, the natives are debarred from engaging in any skilled work, thus keeping them in the ranks of unskilled and thereby low-paid labour.

The government was driven to this mainly by the white trade unions, whose object was to secure and to hold a monopoly of skilled labour, wages, hours, and salaries.

The Native Urban Areas Act had as its avowed object the removal from towns of native prostitutes, professional agitators, liquor sellers, slum landlords and so forth. But no sooner was this on the Statute Book than its real purpose became plain, which is now seen to be another piece of legislation for squeezing a further labour supply.

#### CONVICTS FOR HIRE

The urgency for making available more native labour is further demonstrated by the fact that within the Union territories "convict leasing" to private persons and interests has become almost universal. Almost anybody can get a parcel of convicts by paying the Government from 1s. to 1s. 6d. a day for them—none of which goes to the labourer. In one official report just issued it is stated that a single gold mine was supplied with nearly £15,000 worth of such labour last year.

Another factor in producing labour is taxation.

The reports by Sir Alan Pim, the Nyasaland Report, and many reports in South Africa indicate how heavily taxation bears on the natives, very few of whom earn more than £20 a year (with hut and some food), while large numbers get no more than £5 to £6—to pay a tax of £1.

This is a preposterous incidence.

It is difficult to draw distinctions between the different classes of labour. It is probably true that the tobacco workers of Southern Rhodesia and the sugar workers of Natal have the freest and best conditions.

The mineworkers are well cared for, and if given equality of opportunity in the labour field, would quickly show surprising capacity. But this the white labour organizations rigidly deny them.

The most impoverished, hardest worked, and poorest paid are the workers on land in the Union owned by white men.

But over all is the depressing fact that in the Union territories the 6,000,000 natives are outcasts; "there can be no equality in Church or State between white and black" is a revolting doctrine. It has not been adopted in Southern Rhodesia, where the Government still adheres to the famous declaration by Cecil Rhodes: "Equal rights for all civilized men south of the Zambesi."

#### WORLD DRAWS TRIBUTE

The Protectorates—Basutoland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland, &c.—are free from the taint of this doctrine. But as nearly 200,000 natives are always moving in and out of Union territory, they see the dangers attendant upon this policy, hence their vehement protests against any proposals for incorporating these High Commission territories in the Union.

South Africa has for years enjoyed unexampled prosperity. Since the opening of the gold mines the civilized world (for the mines are only partly British) has received over £2,000,000,000 worth of gold from Johannesburg and Southern Rhodesian mines. In addition the consuming world has garnered huge supplies of tobacco, sugar, fruit and fish, copper and other minerals, the bulk of which has been won from the earth by the horny black hands of the African.

To those who have benefited by these gifts—and few of us have not—there comes a cry from these millions of workers for succour. They do not ask much, just "a square deal" or an opportunity to show to the world what they can do if given the opportunity.

Happily an ever-increasing number of people, not only in Europe but in South Africa, are beginning to realize the danger to peace in Africa to which present conditions are leading, and are endeavouring to create a better spirit, but the question arises, will they—can they—act in time to prevent disaster?

DUCHESSE, Catherine St., W.C.2. Tem. 8243.  
Evenings, 8.30. Matinees, Wed. & Thurs., 2.30.

#### GLORIOUS MORNING

by Norman Macowan

THE MESSAGE OF THIS PLAY, DELIVERED WITH BLAZING SINCERITY AND STRENGTH, IS THAT "THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM IS THE CAUSE OF GOD."

## A Hungarian Pleads for JUSTICE FOR HUNGARIANS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By NAGY IVAN

Last week Nagy Iván wrote about the treatment of minorities of Czechoslovakia, and explained why the minorities felt they could not remain in the State as at present constituted.

THE fate of the Hungarian inhabitants of Czechoslovakia is the fate of a people who, nineteen years ago, became minorities in this land, which had been their own for 1,000 years.

A high culture in towns, arts, literature, and manufactures was built in Northern Hungary 1,000 years ago.

At the beginning of their rule the Czechs ruined Fadrusz's statue of Queen Maria Terésa in Pozsony, and this symbolized the beginning of a new era.

In 1920 the leader of Hungarian minorities, Louis Körmendy Ekes, declared in the Parliament:—

We, who were elected on the list of the Christian Socialist and Hungarian Small Farmers' Parties to represent the Hungarians living on the territories torn away from Hungary, consider it our most sacred duty to draw the attention of the whole world to the fact that we were cut away from the Hungarian nation, and from the ideally united thousand years old land of Hungary against our will.

Our presence here by no means signifies our

acceptance of those illegal facts; it is a living and constant protest against a cruelly unjust decision made about us but without our consent. If all else is lost through the faults of others, our honour remains, and that fact compels us and gives us strength to state clearly and firmly that we shall never waive our right to self-determination, but shall always maintain and claim the same.

#### HUNGARIANS SQUEEZED OUT

Then the Czech "democracy" began the attack against the Hungarian minorities. The first part of the work of "Czechoslovakizing" was the curtailing of the autonomies of the churches, towns, villages, &c. Many ministers, and thousands of politicians and other intellectuals were driven out. In the same way the old Hungarian civil servants were sent away. An example: the railway of Pozsony and Kassa employs 777 officials, and there are only five Hungarians included in this number.

So, of the 21.54 percent of Hungarian inhabitants shown by Czechoslovak statistics to be in Slovakia, there are only 0.6 percent represented—in the Ministry of the Interior 0.4 percent and in the ministries in Prague or in the Provincial Offices in Ungvar, Pozsony there is not a single Hungarian to be found.

Yet the Hungarian schools are persecuted. Czechs want to kill the mother tongue of Hungarian children. The number of schools is not in proportion to the Hungarian inhabitants.

peasants red, white and green are not allowed together "because they are Hungarian colours."

#### NO LAND TO LIVE ON

The Czech Land Reform followed the killing of the Hungarian soul; 140,106.63 hectares were "nationalized" and the Hungarians' financial loss was about 3,500,000 Czech crowns.

There are many Hungarian people homeless in Northern Hungary. For the Czechs did not allow citizenship to many Hungarian people. So it happens that the villages are full of "foreign citizens." For example, in the village of Nagyberék, in 1912, there were no foreign citizens—now there are 81 "foreigners" out of 2,447 inhabitants. In Tiszabogdany there were 28. Now of 4,229 inhabitants, 304 are "foreigners."

These homeless Hungarians cannot get jobs, they are not admitted to the hospitals, and the Czech State does not help them even in natural catastrophes—such as the flood of the river Tisza in Tiszajlak, where they did not get any help.

There were 177 Hungarian banks. Now there are 37. The greatest industries of Northern Hungary, which served the cultural and economic development of millions, centuries ago, were closed by one stroke of the pen. Ten thousand hand workers became unemployed when the great iron foundry at Korompa was closed.

### 52 Nations Represented At Youth Congress AMERICA'S WELCOME TO DELEGATES

THE Second World Youth Congress ended in Vassar College, New York, on Wednesday.

The Congress had opened in a stadium last week with the reception of 500 delegates from 52 countries, representing 40,000,000 members of youth organizations.

The theme of the pageant was "The Unity of Youth." Folk dances of many nations, mass gymnastic displays and mass singing by Negro choirs were included in the programme. The Mayor of New York welcomed the delegates in the name of the City municipal government.

The audience of more than 20,000 people also saw a "Flag Parade of the Nations."

In addition to speeches of welcome by the representatives of federal and municipal governments, there were also speeches from delegates from all the continents.

#### WELCOME BY AMERICANS

The day before the meeting in the stadium, the Mayor received a delegation of young people at his office at the World's Fair grounds and affixed his signature to the first page of America's Book of International Fellowship, which will contain the names of 250,000 well-wishers to the Congress. Several prominent people have already signed this expression of America's hospitality.

In New York, the foreign language groups welcomed the delegations from their native lands.

In a resolution, the Board of Higher Education, of New York, welcomed the delegates and expressed the hope that the "Congress will stimulate the youth of all nations to consider means of promoting international understanding and will emphasize the responsibility of youth in contributing to the peace of the world."

The Interfaith Committee of the New York Council of the American Youth Congress arranged for special services to be held in the churches and temples of the city last week.

The first official meeting of the Congress was opened by Mrs. Roosevelt, wife of the American President.

(A special report of the proceedings at the congress will appear in PEACE NEWS).



This map shows the approximate areas occupied by the minorities in Czechoslovakia. Another authority shows somewhat larger areas as being occupied by Germans and by Hungarians. (From "An Atlas of Current Affairs," by J. F. Horrabin, Gollancz, 3s. 6d.)

The Hungarians in Czechoslovakia have no university. The University of Pozsony was turned over to the Czechs, and all the old famed mining academies, and forestry schools were closed.

In 1928 a decree of the Ministry for Education ordained that diplomas acquired in universities or academies in Hungary would not be recognized anywhere in Czechoslovakia.

That shows what fate is awaiting Hungarian students living in the thousand years old Northern Hungary, which nineteen years ago became Czechoslovakia.

In Hungarian villages one looks in vain for schools. In centuries old Hungarian villages—2,044 Hungarians in Nyitra, 1,386 in Nagynombat, 870 in Bentercebanya, &c.—there is not a single Hungarian teacher.

The first "cultural" attacks of the Czechs were to close the Premontrenian and Lutheran Colleges, remove the libraries, remove even the pedestal on which the statue of Louis Kossuth stood in Losonc, and the statue of the poet of liberty, Alexander Petöfi, as well as the tombstones of some Hungarians in churchyards.

Books and most Hungarian daily newspapers and periodicals were suppressed; 20,000 Hungarians in Pozsony, 13,000 in Kassa, and 5,000 in Ungvar are not allowed to use the Hungarian mother language.

It is forbidden to listen on the wireless to Hungary, or to sing Hungarian songs. Even the Czech philharmonic orchestra was not allowed to play Berlioz's *Ra'ko'czi* March in Kassa. On the costume of

The slogan of the Czech Government is "Northern Hungary, Slovakia and Ruthenia do not need schools, industry, railways—and land to live." Since the Czechs have ruled there has been a decay in every part of the life of millions who are obliged to live in Czechoslovakia. Their fate is far worse than ever before—naturally it is a dangerous situation.

The Hungarian minorities knew that on September 10, 1919, the Principal Allied and Associated Powers at Saint Germain-en-Laye (where the Czechoslovak Republic was born) declared in the treaty:

Czechoslovakia undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Czechoslovakia without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion (Article 2).

Differences of religion, creed, or confession shall not prejudice any Czechoslovak national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions, and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Czechoslovak national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings (Article 7).

... right to establish and manage schools and other educational establishments with the right to use their own language (Article 8).

These are Czechoslovakia's obligations, but she has refused to fulfil them.

For the cause of peace justice should be done to the Hungarians.

In his concluding article next week Nagy Iván will deal with the position of the Ruthenian and Polish minorities in Czechoslovakia.



## A Woman's Point of View

## Task Before the Women's Campaign

THOSE readers who recall the first appearance of this feature, and it is no older than the enlarged PEACE NEWS, may remember that at first the title was in the plural.

It was not a happy choice. I had letters from women who disliked being addressed as women and from some who seemed to dislike being women.

The objection to the title in the plural that struck me as valid was that it was untrue and unfair to call one woman's point of view, "Women's Point of View." It was not that and could never be that.

So the title was altered and this feature makes no claim now to be representative of more than one woman's viewpoint.

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WHEN I made my first appeal for help in a women's campaign, I wondered what the reaction would be of those who are infuriated when they are considered and addressed as women.

Firstly I must make my excuse. The campaign was begun as an answer to the Government's campaign to enlist women for war and for the preparations of war. The Government, untroubled by nice points of singular or plural, appealed to women as a sex, as a mass.

It was an infuriating appeal, because by its terms it suggested that women were easily deluded by eloquent claims on their capacity for service and sacrifice. It paid no attention to those women who have a capacity for thought.

But this appeal needed an answer, it needed an antidote, and to give this is the task of our peace campaign.

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THE need is urgent. It is no time for quibbling over the futility of generalizations. Women are being called upon as women for an end that many of us consider unworthy—for war. Many of us consider it unworthy—many, but not enough.

There are some women who have taken part eagerly and willingly in the Government's plans. These believe, most of them in all sincerity, that they are patriots. They believe that phrases they have heard often must be true. They think in catchwords: fine sounding, honourable sounding catchwords most of them, but like all catchwords they do not tell all the truth.

It is much easier to rest content with a phrase than to do a lot of solid thinking and face up to some unlovely facts. It is our job to pull the catchwords to pieces and to see to it that women know what they are doing.

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IF a woman believes in war and is willing to do her bit toward the skilful mass murder of men, women, and children in other countries, there is at this stage of our pitiful civilization no way of restraining her.

Public opinion will not yet permit her to do the active murder—that is the proud and gallant job of the young men—but public opinion will permit her, and will encourage her to give every help and assistance to that murder.

The women of the Civil Air Guard, who look so trim in their white uniforms when pictured in the daily press, will be as guilty as the young men who go out with their loaded bombers to see if they can kill

faster than the other side. They are doing foul work.

We do not challenge their freedom to do it, but we believe if they had imagination enough it would be daunted at the thought of the fearful and loathsome task they are aiding.

Let them smother it up with half-thought-up ideas, let them hug to themselves the feeling that they are doing their duty to their country—it is an illusion that we would shatter, before it is shattered by the savage spectacle of war.

The reality of war would show their work for what it was, but we must make it possible for them to understand now—now before it is too late, before their own husbands, fathers, brothers, and lovers are dragged into the murderous competition that is called war; before the ordinary lives of ordinary men and women are blasted and shrivelled by the shadow of the foulest kind of death; useless murder by other men and women who have no quarrel with their victims.

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A WOMAN who was canvassing for ARP said to me recently, "You dare not hold out against this work—you must be ready to work and suffer for your country." I told her that she dare not think, she could not think and mouth the nonsense that she did.

There are protest marches against the bombings in China—if we take part in war, we shall do these things. It is false, wildly false to believe that we should not.

Side by side with our ARP the plans for bombers are drawn up, machines are assembled, bombs are being made, young men are being trained, men are filling shells, girls and women are making poison gas. For what?

This ghastly labour, this careful manufacture of the means of murder, is our country's first concern. After it come the well-meaning, hopeless schemes to mitigate the effect of the answering murder. And after them both, concern for the miseries and difficulties of the working and the workless men and women of this country.

War first. Money for war first. The most important thing is to have ready the best, the most modern, the most speedy methods of murder. That is to be the greatest empire the world has ever seen.

It is a thought to make one doubt one's sanity. And yet these men and women who believe in this preparation, who are taking part in it, who are helping to pay for it, are sane. They keep their sanity by not thinking, by refusing to see the fearful pictures their imagination could present to them, by turning despair at the frightful farce into action in support of the farce.

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THERE is little time. The hideous nature of the farce is being dulled by repetition and familiarity. Zealous press propaganda accustoms the public mind to preparation for war and to the thought of war itself.

But the public mind is your mind, and my mind, and the mind of hundreds of thousands of men and women. It must be shaken—despairing acceptance must be shattered—apathy must be awakened.

It can be done and it must be done. Every woman in the country has heard of ARP and is conscious of the shadow of war. Every woman in the country must hear of our campaign and realize what she can do to help.

The forces on the other side have resources of wealth and power that we have not, but there is one thing that we have that they can never have—the passionate flaming certainty that we are working for something finer and greater than ourselves, our country or our empire, a certainty that war cannot shatter as it shatters the illusions of patriotism, a flame that if civilization is to last cannot be quenched.

M.S.

## Practical Pacifism and Unemployment Problems—5

## WHAT GRITH PIONEERS ARE DOING

THOUGH Grith Pioneers began as a contribution to the peace movement, within a few months of the establishment of the first camp (March, 1932) it was mainly concerned with the immediate problem of dealing with the vast army of young unemployed men cast aside by the 1931 depression.

For such, it was clear, were peculiarly vulnerable to the demoralizing customs of town life, and were least able to afford the luxury of refreshment through country and seaside holidays.

The scheme had originally been mooted as "F.E.B." (after the Greek youth movement Ephebia), and was intended to combat three evils of the day: monotonous labour, with its occasional relief by quick, aimless excitement; the state of passivity and absorption; the loss of the incentive of self-expression and creativeness.

## PURPOSE

It envisaged voluntary service in camps—even conscription was discussed—for a period of twelve or eighteen months of all

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"OUR contribution to peace is to enable men to experience the pleasures of co-operation and the delights of fighting, not other men, but practical difficulties—and for the common good."

Leslie West tells the story of Grith Pioneers and describes the contribution they are making to the problem of unemployment and the cause of peace.

young people of university age; both sexes were ultimately to enjoy the benefits of the idea.

It was primarily educational; but educational in a sense different from the alleged school-board rigidity. It was to be based on the knowledge that we all have in us, somewhere, somehow, a relation with nature more intimate than we may imagine, much that is primitive and too wild for the straight-jacket of urban industrialism.

Adventurous camp life, wrestling with difficulties that can be felt and understood, the completion of tasks and the enjoyment of their results; fellowship and responsibility: these were the factors which were to blend in recreation of a man, and his preparation for the demands of the world.

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TO fulfil these aims, members were sent to permanent outdoor camps, rough and ready, and left very much to their own resources.

Their work was largely uneconomic and they had to be subsidized; most of what they did was for their own benefit—the provision of equipment and new buildings, the cultivation of food, and so on. Classes and discussion groups were organized, small parties of men embarked on long-distance hikes, through rural and urban areas, with a deliberate educational aim. Hobbies of all kinds flourished, of which some products reached quite a good standard—though much of the beginners' work reminded the visitor of a fourth form workroom.

## GROWTH

The first Grith Fyrd camp was started at Godshill, in the New Forest and close to the bank of the Avon.

By October, 1932, a couple of dozen men were in camp and semi-permanent buildings had been erected ready for winter occupation. Local contacts had been made; the Ministry of Labour had agreed to pay unemployment benefit to members, subject to their usual conditions; and the camp was recognized as a "society" for the purchase of seed, &c., through the Friends' Allotment Committee.

In December, 1933, a second camp was opened at Shining Cliff, Derbyshire. In March, 1934, 46 men were in the two camps, and a high standard of achievement had been reached by members.

We hear of furniture supplied to the small London office, clothes made from

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WE claim to have benefited the lives of almost all the 330-odd men who have passed through camp; sometimes the effect has been far-reaching and has amounted to little less than a new start in life.

Our ideals have not nearly been accomplished; the movement has never been self-supporting, numbers have remained small, and decreased in 1936; the chain of camps envisaged within twenty or thirty miles of each depressed area has never materialized; an attempt to combine camp life with land settlement failed.

But above all this, the experiment has shown the desirability and practicability, at least while unemployment remains, of long-term training in a community under conditions of hardship.

Our experience may yet be used for the establishment of camps on a far bigger scale.

## DISCIPLINE

Our numbers are at present increasing, though they are much too small. Last winter they reached such a low level that we thought seriously of winding up the movement.

But we feel that with even a small number in camp the experiment is worth while, and though we refuse to be pessimistic about future trade prospects, we view with concern the present huge total of unemployed. Clearly, something will have to be done for them; clearly, no one solution will suffice.

We think that the Government's twelve-week "reconditioning" camps fall short of the desired standard, and that camps more on the Grith Pioneers principle ought to hold an important and permanent position.

Because such camps may eventually be run under government control, we wish to stress the importance of avoiding too strict a discipline, lack of freedom and initiative which people have associated with some government activities. Our experience has taught us that mechanical behaviour is the least desirable in a "reconditioning" colony.

\*

THOUGH we dislike utter discipline, we recognize that a certain degree of imposed discipline is good, especially in the early stages of a man's passage through camp; but our aim is always self-discipline.

We are non-political and non-sectarian, and encourage men to find their own solution to problems. Thus, we are not a "pacifist" movement as many would desire us to be.

Like everyone, we dislike the waste and destruction of war, and our own contribution to peace is to enable men to experience the pleasures of cooperation and the delights of fighting, not other men, but practical difficulties—and fighting for the common good, not for one section against another.

We rely on our Pioneers to leaven the work-a-day world with a spirit and doctrine of cooperation worthy of man's better nature in this century of marvellous promise.

LESLIE WEST

NEXT WEEK: A House of Hope in Mid-Rhondda.

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# NEW BOOKS

## MAN UNDER THE VENEER

Chaos. By Shaw Desmond. Hutchinson & Co. 8s. 6d.

Reviewed by J. C. G. Burton

NIGHTMARE and day-dream have brought this romantic novel, the *Evening Standard* book of the month, to birth.

The author envisages the totalitarian war of the nineteen forties, and the vision is horrible. The most successful descriptions are of crowd panics, and the trampling of thousands to death in them, and of the ruthlessness of the mob when it has become a beast.

We can be sure that along these lines the author's prophecies are veridical.

In the first stages of war, the veneer of civilization holds, and home life, church services, theatres, public houses, and Parliament continue as before. But as the senseless war drags on, and in the end every man is merely fighting for himself, the veneer cracks, and the horrible beast which is man shows himself. Man absolutely forgets that he is a spirit, and lives by his body, which has merely two lusts, sexual brutality and an insatiable appetite to kill—to kill anything and everything.

In the opening stages of world war, small groups like communists, fascists, militant pacifists, and Christian pacifists struggle to control the situation, but by the time the war comes to its insensate end, six years afterward, no ideas are of significance.

The disintegration of civilization, which is really proceeding among us, is effectively brought out in this story. The descriptions of war in the air and on the sea—descriptions in the H. G. Wells manner—are not so convincing. Imagination is too two-dimensional for this three-dimensional reality.

The literary style is a little appalling—too popular and careless, and that is a pity, because the subject deserves the most careful treatment. A human and love interest picks its ways through all the main horrors, centring itself round a West London family of journalists, theorists and political workers; and their sexual entanglements are given as much weight as the general background of chaos.

The characterization is too thin to be convincing, but "mysterious woman" is drawn more powerfully than "dominant man."

In the best English traditions, too, the sordid tragedy is relieved by rough knock-about farce, supplied by a group of facetious old contemptibles who haunt a waterside pub. Two of these in a mad escapade

with an English speedboat, blow up the German flagship, the *Adolf Hitler*. Improbability reaches its dizziest heights, here.

If a wide public of ordinary readers imaginatively lives through this description of the utter futility of all war, it may open their eyes to what is happening around them and make them clamour for positive Christian reconstruction. That is the aim of the author and one applauds him for his work.

## UNDERMINING FASCISM

*Les Eglises Chrétiennes dans le Troisième Reich.* Editions du Comité Mondial contre la Guerre et le Fascisme. 38, Boulevard Raspail, Paris VIIe. 2 francs.

Perhaps the greatest service which pacifists can render at the present hour is to help to save the peace movement from the violence of anti-fascism.

A reading of this valuable pamphlet helps to show both what fascism means and by what way it is most surely undermined. The bitter experience of the Christian Church in Germany may yet provide a demonstration of the victory of suffering.

The story told again in these pages is an unhappy one. The first section—an account by German Catholics of the trial of a Catholic priest, abstracted from official sources, and therefore biased against the accused—suggests that even Nazi witnesses testify unwillingly against one whose character impresses them.

Even more significant is the testimony of communist witnesses, recalled from prison and concentration camp to testify against him.

Ardent communist and faithful priest have evidently learnt to appreciate each other. The communist will neither save herself nor incriminate the accused by allowing that their philosophy is the same; the judge certainly did not intend her to avow that the priest's attitude "was motivated by simple humanity and by a Christian's love of his neighbour."

A second section which deals with the grave breach between the Austrian bishops and the See of Rome. "Already there is news from Austria that many priests are not prepared to follow the lead of the bishops. And many of them are already in prison."

The last section, by an English Christian, deals with the struggle of the Protestant Church. The reader is reminded of the steps by which Hitler has tried to win the convenient acquiescence of the Church.

It is well to be again reminded that the Confessional Church stands, not necessarily for opposition to the whole national socialist programme, but for the sole

PATRICK RICHARDS

## Milk-and-Water Hemingway!

A FAREWELL TO ARMS (Paramount). Paramount Theatre.

EXCEPT for a brief shot of two planes machine-gunning retreating soldiers and civilians, and one short air raid, one would hardly imagine that this film was based on a realistic war novel.

The anti-war lines of the film are reduced to a padre crying, "I hate war," and an Italian private declaring, "If everybody would not attack the war would be over"; though they do allow Catherine Barkley to say of her fiancé, "I remember having a silly idea he might come to the hospital where I was with a sabre cut, I suppose, and a bandage around his head, or shot through the shoulder. Something picturesque . . . He didn't have a sabre cut. They blew him to pieces." Even here, however, the following words are cut: "People can't realize what France is like. If they did it couldn't go on."

Compared with the strong meat of Hemingway the film is milk and water, just a sentimental romance with a faint suggestion of lax morality and drunkenness.

The film even opens with a few lines about the Marne and Piave being high on the roll of honour, whereas Hemingway writes:

I had seen nothing sacred, and the things that were glorious had no glory and the sacrifices were like the stockyards at Chicago if nothing was done with the meat except to bury it.

One might imagine from the film that war was all, or almost all, love, kisses, and pretty nurses, or the conventional wine, women, and song, for all Passini's anti-war conversation has vanished.

There is nothing worse than war. There is nothing as bad. War is not won by victory. One side must stop fighting. Why don't we

sovereignty of God and, therefore, for the independence of the Church.

The spirit of the pamphlet is aptly conveyed in Pasteur Vénéque's preface:—

During the many years in which I have been working for understanding between the peoples, and for peace among the nations, experience has confirmed what Christian doctrine had already taught me—that you can work for peace only in a spirit of peace, and that peace cannot be built on violence. . . . to help to win the German people we must, in all friendliness as in all sincerity, make them hear the language of truth and justice.

And the pamphlet itself confirms this hopeful inference:

Now, clearly the Third Reich hesitates, plays for time, does not dare to go to the limit of its threats. This then is the time for all friends of truth, justice, and liberty, who are the true friends of Germany, to make the stern voice of the conscience of the world heard on high. And, once again, conscience will win the day.

ALAN BALDING

## BRIEFER NOTICES

**America Against Aggression.** Speech delivered by Mr. Cordell Hull. Peace Book Co. 3d.

In this verbatim report of an address entitled "The Spirit of International Law," delivered by the American Secretary of State in June, is contained the recognition of the impossibility of American isolation which has characterized so many of Mr. Hull's pronouncements.

Mr. Hull wants America to lead in the advancement of the "principles of international law, resting in turn upon the foundation of cooperation, justice, and morality." Through forgetting that indispensable basis, Europe failed to build a worthy structure on the framework supplied by the ideals of another American statesman, President Wilson.

Alas, there are only slight grounds for hoping that Mr. Hull has seen this and that his ideal cooperation is not a vain military cooperation—note the title of the pamphlet—but a positive one in the economic sphere.

**Experiences of a Camp Follower.** Muriel Lester. International Fellowship of Reconciliation, 16, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1. 2d.

Muriel Lester, well-known Christian pacifist, reached Japan last Christmas Day; after a short stay she went on to China, where, in her self-styled capacity of "camp follower," she saw to what purpose Japan is putting the scrap iron obtained from Britain and the USA.

What she saw constitutes not only an indictment against war itself and Japan in particular, but against the Western nations on whom much of the responsibility ultimately falls.

Muriel Lester indicates what we of the West can do about it.

AT THE CINEMA

stop fighting? If they come down into Italy they get tired and go away. They have their own country. But no, instead, there is a war. That is but a little of what Passini says,

but not one word of it is heard in the film. Similarly, when the trench is hit, nothing is seen or heard of the horrible mutilation and death of Passini.

Philip Noel-Baker's contention, that Italians do not make good soldiers because they are not aggressive, is borne out by the novel but not by the film, which might have done something in this respect to counter the present bitter anti-Italian propaganda. The book, and even the simple plot, has been badly tampered with, and the film is only redeemed by the magnificent acting of Helen Hayes in the poignant death-bed scene, where Catherine dies of child-birth.

She, Gary Cooper as Frederick Henry, and Jack La Rue as the padre, do their best with poor material. Adolphe Menjou is more fortunate, his lines being almost entirely from the novel; consequently, he has brought the effervescent Italian doctor, Lieut. Rinaldi, to life. Despite his invigorating performance, however, my only hope is that filmgoers may be led to read the novel.

A DANGEROUS AGE (First National). Paramount Theatre.

THIS film is outstanding for some brilliant acting by adolescent Benita Granville as a "poor rich girl," neglected by her parents until she becomes a defiant neurotic. Eventually she is cured by the superintendent of a reform school, Helen Cosgrove, charmingly played by Dolores Costello. Benita Granville, who has Nova Pilbeam's ability, Deanna Durbin's charm and attractive personality, and, wondrous to relate, does not sing, shows genuine promise as an actress of straight roles.

DOUBLE CRIME SUR LA LIGNE MAGINOT. Forum.

BILLED as a great attraction because of the first glimpses of the Maginot Line, this film is a first-class piece of militaristic propaganda with a conventional plot of German espionage. The acting is of a good standard, with Victoria Francen as a suspect French captain who traps a German spy, only to find, after the spy's death, that he was the brother of his own wife (played by Vera Korène).

To the pacifist, the film will bring home the stupidity of a nation, prepared in part to live beneath the soil in alleged shell-proof tunnels and underground "towns." The French army may be able to hide in their underground shelters, but the civilian population of France will become the only real military objective.

The film suggests why Hitler was so eager to reoccupy the Rhineland and how part of our own £450,000 bill for spying may be spent.

RED ENSIGN (Gaumont-British). Forum.

A PART from a little flag-flying and some declaimed speeches by Leslie Banks on the value of the British mercantile marine to the Empire during the Great War, this film is not the jingoistic specimen one might suspect. Leslie Banks, as David Barr, an enthusiastic Scottish ship-builder who will not stop even at forgery to finance the building of cargo boats to recapture trade for Britain, is well supported by Carol Goodner as June MacKinnon, whose money and affections he succeeds in gaining.

The late Frank Vosper, as Lord Dean, his rival in love, and Alfred Drayton, as an unscrupulous business rival who registers his ships under a foreign flag so that he may man them with foreigners at sweated wages, also act well.

The film is a powerful plea for subsidies for the British mercantile marine, for a quota so that British cargo boats may compete with subsidized foreign shipping. One is left feeling what might have been done by filming the true tragedy of Clydeside and of peacetime shipping in all lands, for foreign shipping is not the real enemy of Clydeside, as this film would have us believe. The real enemy is the arms race, the parasite which is draining the life out of world trade.

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# People's Voice for Peace in U.S. Elections

## QUESTIONS TO CONGRESS CANDIDATES

### Referendum-before-War Plan Again Urged

**I**N order that the will of the people may make itself felt in the new United States Congress, for which elections will be held within the next few months,

American peace-workers are securing from all candidates answers to nine questions dealing with vital issues in home and foreign policy.

The widest possible publicity is being given to these answers, both through the press and by distribution of mimeographed copies.

Of great importance is the fact that one of the questions is on the proposal for a referendum of the people before war may be declared. This proposal was turned down by the House of Representatives early this year, following opposition from the President, and it is likely to be an important election issue.

These are the questions which candidates are being asked to answer:

**Neutrality.**—Will you uphold the Neutrality Act, supporting only those amendments which will strengthen the present law by making it mandatory upon the President to embargo basic raw materials such as oil and scrap iron to nations at war, and thus guard against the United States Government's fighting in foreign wars?

**Munitions embargo.**—Will you support a peacetime arms embargo?

**World disarmament.**—Will you work actively for United States initiation of world economic and military disarmament by conference or otherwise?

**Referendum.**—Will you support an amendment to the Constitution to provide that, except in the case of actual or threatened invasion, war may be declared only by a vote of the people?

**Civil liberties.**—Will you oppose all legislation which in any way threatens the constitutional rights of free speech, press, and assembly?

**Anti-lynching.**—Will you support a Federal anti-lynching Bill?

**Conscription.**—Will you oppose the passage of legislation for universal conscription in war time, setting up a dictatorship over farmers, labour and industry?

**National defence policy.**—(a) Will you support a national defence policy and programme limited to defence of our soil against invasion and definitely not designed for defence of our interests and investments abroad? (b) Will you work for a sound democracy at home based on a programme of construction, conservation, and expanded education rather than a false prosperity built on a war boom?

**No foreign wars.**—Finally, will you pledge that you will never vote this country into war except in the case of actual invasion of continental United States?

To serve those who are trying to make peace an issue in the election campaign, the National Council for Prevention of War is publishing *Peace Voters News*, described as "a brief, newsy instruction and information sheet."

#### WATCHFUL OVER NEUTRALITY ISSUE

Not only are candidates for Congress being asked where they stand on the issue of neutrality; the NCPW is urging peace-workers to write to the President and the Secretary of State expressing opposition to weakening of the neutrality law by provisions that would permit the President to choose sides.

This watchfulness is necessary because an official spokesman on foreign affairs last month claimed that the war in China had shown that the President needed "wider discretion" in dealings with warring nations, and said the Administration would ask Congress to change the law.

Other action that is being undertaken is the sending to Congressmen of copies of the latest report of the Director of the International Labour Office, showing how expenditure on armaments is delaying progress toward social justice.

#### Women's Study Conference

The Committee for Peace and the League of Nations of the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and equal citizenship is planning a study conference, to be held in Stockholm on October 15 and 16, dealing with suggestions for improving international economic relations, and possibly also the psychological basis of peace and war problems. This conference will lead up to the contribution which the peace committee will make to the international congress of the Alliance in Copenhagen at the beginning of June, 1939.



The Capitol, Washington, seat of the American Government.

### "REMEMBER RELIGION": APPEAL TO JAPANESE BUDDHISTS

The Indian city of Gaya, where the founder of Buddhism awoke to his mission, has sent an appeal to the 41,000,000 Buddhists in Japan.

A civic resolution transmitted by the mayor declared:

"In the name of the Lord Buddha and as first citizen of the place of his enlightenment, I appeal to Japan to think of his teachings for a moment and desist from such barbarous atrocities as the bombing of Canton."

### EFFECT OF PACT WITH EIRE Militarism More Open—& More Opposition

From an Irish Correspondent

The report in PEACE NEWS (August 6) that "Eire was more free from the threat of militarism when relations with England were less friendly" may give a wrong impression. What has happened is that since the recent Anglo-Irish Agreement a spirit that was there all the time has been revealed. To explain this one must go back to 1921.

In the treaty of that year England demanded the occupation of certain Irish ports. That, however, did not mean that Ireland did not wish to have those ports herself and to fill them with her own troops. In fact, she was most indignant at England's condition.

In the new agreement these ports have been returned to Eire, so now, of course, she is able to carry out her frustrated wish to control and arm them herself. But that only means that she is now able to militarize these ports herself as she had always wanted to.

It naturally follows that there is now much talk and discussion about this matter, and various speeches in the Dail and elsewhere have simply revealed the spirit that was there all the time.

#### OPPOSITION TO MILITARISM

In fact, the pact, with its return of these ports, &c., has brought out a great deal of anti-militarism also.

Both in the *Irish Press* and in a small paper called *Prison Bars* there have been several letters and articles urging that Ireland should not waste money trying to militarize these ports herself, but should declare a definite neutrality and save the money to spend on more urgent matters of real benefit to the people.

The neutrality idea seems to be gaining ground and is supported even by non-pacifists.

The *Children's Tree* is the title of a monthly journal that will soon be published by the Children's International League of Kindness. It is also proposed to set up in Australia or Africa a universal children's camp. The hon. secretary of the League is John O'Donnell, of 23 Barnes Crescent, Ensbury Park, Bournemouth. French headquarters are at 23 Avenue d'Eylau, Paris, 16e.

### FRENCH TEACHERS' ANTI-WAR LEAD

THE conference of the French National Union of Teachers—representing 108,000 out of the 140,000 teachers in the country—adopted a resolution plainly denouncing "multi-coloured war-mongering," and calling on the workers not to allow themselves to be duped any longer by talk of safeguarding democracy by war.

This was the conference at which (as reported in "News of Note" last week), Leon Jouhaux, French TUC leader, was howled down by anti-militarists and anarchists because of his war-mongering attitude on Spain and Czechoslovakia.

#### WORK AMONG PEASANTS

The French pacifist weekly, *La Patrie Humaine*, considers the teachers' stand to be an "outstanding world event," and points out that, with the peasants, teachers were the class which lost most in the Great War.

Meanwhile the work of the Trades Unions Anti-War Centre goes forward and workers in this movement are devoting their holidays to propaganda work among peasants, who are already strongly opposed to war.

### May be First South African to Refuse War Service

A twenty-year-old man who is likely to be "the first South African war resister to make the acid test" is referred to in a letter from Durban quoted in the current number of *The War Resister*.

This young man, says the letter, "has served nearly two years in the Special Service Battalion. (This was created in the depression of 1929—young boys were told that if they joined up they would be trained and found a billet—they were paid 1s. a day, put under canvas, and given a rigid training. A recruit from the SSB has to report for five years and is still looked upon as a reservist.)"

"This young man quickly rose to be a sergeant."

"Things began to pall on him until one day at bayonet drill he was told to use some imagination and think of the sack as a human being and gouge out the man's bowels."

"He became convinced that it was all wrong, and came out, but he has to report each year. This is the second time he should report, but he feels he would be sinning if he did so."

(*The War Resister* is obtainable from the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, for a yearly subscription of 1s. 2d.).

#### HOW WAR STARVES CHILDREN

Speaking of the semi-starvation prevailing in Barcelona, in a message quoted in a bulletin issued by the Friends' Service Council on relief work in Spain, Alfred Jacob writes: "I found a boy unconscious in the street and took him to the nearest dispensary. It turned out he had had nothing to eat for four days."

### "BLACKLEG" SCAVENGERS

### But they Prevented an Epidemic

#### DUTY ALSO TO HELP STRIKERS

MEMBERS of the Indian National Congress in Bhagalpur took the place of scavengers who went on strike for an increase in wages, water taps in their locality, a school for their children, &c.

They did this because, no compromise being in sight, the absence of scavengers was likely to lead to an epidemic. One of those who took part in this voluntary labour, however, subsequently wrote:

This disarmed—shall I say demoralized?—the scavengers, and they promised to join work immediately. I have used the word "demoralized," for some of our Congress friends are blaming us for having demoralized the scavengers, who would easily have been able to dictate their terms if we had not done their work. I wonder how far these Congress friends' criticism is correct.

A solution of this conflict between civic duty and solidarity with men rebelling against bad conditions is indicated in Mr. Gandhi's paper, *Harijan*, which declares "it was the duty of anyone with a civic sense—certainly the duty of all Congressmen—to take up the work of scavengers the moment the latter struck work."

"But the fact that the scavengers were compelled to resume work does not and should not mean their defeat. In fact it becomes the duty of all who worked in order to prevent an epidemic to work also for getting the just demands of the scavengers granted."

"Their work does not end with the performance of a day's scavenging. It begins there."

### "Communists and their Friends Monopolized Nehru"

The impression, received by many pacifists during Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's recent visit to England, that he was prevented from making contacts with those at least as strong supporters of India's struggle for freedom as militant Left-wing workers claim to be, has found expression in a statement to the *Hindustan Times* by Reginald Reynolds (author of *The White Sahibs of India*, to which Jawaharlal Nehru himself wrote a foreword).

Mr. Reynolds said: Not since Gandhiji's visit in 1931 has so much interest been shown in any Indian visitor to this country.

It is unfortunate, however, that a wider use was not made of Jawaharlal during his stay. Indian visitors to England tend to move in too narrow a circle, and many to whom their message would be of great inspiration are often deprived of the opportunity of hearing them.

#### P.P.U. TURNED DOWN

I have just learnt that the Peace Pledge Union (a pacifist organization founded by the late Dick Sheppard, which today has well over 100,000 members), was anxious to hold a meeting and to give its members the privilege of hearing Pandit Nehru.

For some reason those who were responsible for Jawaharlal's English plans did not consider this suggestion sufficiently important to be worth considering, and the repeated efforts of the PPU to make contact with Jawaharlal through the office of the India League failed completely.

I am myself a member of one of the smaller political parties—the Independent Labour Party—which has consistently championed the Indian National Congress in Britain. We, too, were disappointed at the fact that no time could be found for Pandit Nehru to address a meeting organized by our party. Only with the greatest difficulty did we obtain credentials to attend a delegate conference which the India League organized in London.

#### "MORE THAN THEIR SHARE"

In general I find that there is a feeling—which I share myself—that Pandit Jawaharlal's visit has been of considerable value, but that the communists and their friends have had more than their share of him, which has not been helpful in making known the views of Congress to a wider public.

It is certainly to be hoped that in future there will be more opportunity for direct contact between the public here and our Indian visitors, without recourse to intermediaries interested in a party purpose which is not the purpose of the Indian National Congress.



# Two Nations Have Taken a Dispute to Court

**I**T is encouraging in these degenerate days, when the doctrine that might is right is temporarily gaining ground in so many parts of the world, to find that the Estonian and Lithuanian Governments have agreed to submit a dispute to the Permanent Court of International Justice in the exercise of their rights as members of the League of Nations.\*

The guiding principles of the Court, which owes its origin to Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, are:—

1. International custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law;
2. International conventions;
3. The general principles of law recognized by civilized nations;
4. Judicial decisions and the teachings of publicists.

## JURISDICTION

If the litigants so agree, the Court may decide *ex æquo et bono*. No State can be compelled to submit to the jurisdiction of the Court, but there are various circumstances in which the Court has jurisdiction. These may be classified as follows:—

1. The disputants may expressly agree to refer a particular difference to the Court;
2. Article 12 of the Covenant of the League of Nations provides that "the members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council and they agree in no case to resort to war until after three months from the award by the arbitrators or the judicial decision or the report by the Council." As the Permanent Court of International Justice is the only international tribunal, disputes which it is decided to determine by judicial settlement are referred to it;
3. The so-called "Optional Clause" (Article 36 of the Statute of the Court), which is acceded to by Estonia and Lithuania, provides that any member of the League adopting it accepts the jurisdiction of the Court as compulsory as between it and any other member adopting it in cases of disputes concerning either
  - (a) Interpretation of a treaty; or
  - (b) Any question of international law; or
  - (c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute the breach of an international obligation; or
  - (d) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.
4. A number of treaties have been made by which the signatories agree to submit to the Court all disputes, or disputes of certain classes, arising between them.

## USED FOR ADVICE

Sometimes, when disputes are referred to the Council of the League in accordance with Article 12 of the Covenant, the Council asks the Permanent Court of International Justice to give an advisory opinion.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council, to arise out of a matter which, by international law, is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.—Article 15 (8).

Moreover, although the Council finds the backing of the Court useful in promulgating its decisions and is not likely to disregard an advisory opinion, the Court is careful to maintain its judicial character.

For instance, when at Finland's request in 1923 the Council asked for an opinion on the obligations of Russia in Eastern Karelia under the Treaty of Dorpat of 1920, the Soviet Government refused to appear before the Court, and the Court therefore decided that it could not give an opinion, as to do so would be incompatible with its functions.

## MORE POWER

It is noteworthy that if a request for an advisory opinion is a "matter of procedure," for which a majority vote of the Council suffices, a quasi-compulsory jurisdiction is conferred upon the Court, for the Council can refer disputes to it against the will of the disputants.

The first contentious matter to come before the Court was the famous case of

the Wimbledon, which was heard in 1923, and decided that the passage of belligerent ships of war or of belligerent or neutral merchant ships carrying contraband through the Kiel Canal did not compromise Germany's neutrality.

Only Estonia and Lithuania will be bound by the decision of the Court in the case of the dispute at present existing between them, and they will be bound by it only in respect of this particular matter. As a matter of practice, however, the Court does respect its own decisions in the same way as the British House of Lords respects the judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

## BUILDING LAW

It is to be hoped that the following of previous decisions will result in the crystallization of a body of case law as comprehensive and withal as flexible as the English common law. The Statute of the Court makes the salutary provision that judgments must state the reasons on which they are based, which will assist history of the Court to be a record of coherent progress.

The creation of an international legal system by men (and perhaps women) who are divided by the barriers of nationality and race but united by the ties of jurisprudential training and the quest of justice may exercise a profound influence upon the emergence of the world State of the future.

For, by the establishment of principles of wide applicability, the Court will diminish the possibility of genuine disagreements over the proper settlement of incompatible claims, and, above all, it will help to create a world-wide public opinion which no bullying government will lightly flout.

## A BARRISTER

## Hammer This Truth Into Everyone's Head

**FLORA ROBSON**, who plays the part of a Russian stationmaster's daughter in *Last Train South* at the St. Martin's Theatre, speaks the following lines, which bring down the curtain:

What's the good of hurting people—hurting and being hurt back? What will it do for us in the end? What is the good of it—all this hatred?

The play is described as "sheer melodrama," but even more welcome than its attack on the wickedness of hatred was the effect of that attack on the *Daily Mirror*. That newspaper, under the heading "Greatest Crime of All," printed a notice of the play by John Severn, which referred to the above lines as follows:

On reflection you will find that, like a lot of the sentiment which clever people sneer at today—it contains a central truth.

For, if ever there were a truth, it is that hatred is the most futile, the most utterly useless and wicked thing in the world today. To nurse hatred is the greatest crime in the world today.

And to get that truth into the minds of men I care not how cheap the medium may be. I care not how clumsily it is introduced, I care not how many times it is repeated.

To me the important thing is to hammer this truth into the thick skulls of every man, woman and child until they not only accept it as a great a verity as life itself, but act upon it.

You cannot cure or heal an injury by injuring someone else. Wrong can only be counted and defeated by right, and that is all there is to it.

We take off our hats to a playwright whose work can move a national newspaper to print that.

## "Insect Play" Lost Thousands of Pounds

**A** LOSS of £10,000 on *The Insect Play* by Sir Nigel Playfair and of thousands of pounds by herself was revealed by Miss Nancy Price on Saturday.

Speaking at the close of the play's latest run, at the Duke of York's Theatre, Miss Price said that before Sir Nigel Playfair died in 1934, he expressed a wish that the play should be carried on by someone else, although he had lost £10,000 on it.

Her own loss was subsequently revealed by Miss Price to a reporter. She said that shortly before Sir Nigel died he told her that the financial failure of his production of the play was one of the most bitter disappointments of his career.

"It was his desire," she added, "that it should be revived. This I have done, although it has cost me, in my turn, thousands of pounds, but I do not regret a penny of it."

"Its power to impress is illustrated by the fact that yesterday the manager of the National Theatre at Bergen, Norway, travelled to London specially to see it, and intends making it his next production."

## More Libraries Show "Peace News"

The entry of PEACE NEWS into two more libraries, at:

Hitchin and  
Rutherglen,

as well as a YMCA reading room at Blackburn (as reported on page 16) brings the total of those where it is now displayed regularly each week to 356.

**HAVE YOU TRIED**  
getting  
**PEACE NEWS**  
into your local  
**PUBLIC LIBRARY?**

The Home Office claims to be receiving the assistance of the clergy for ARP recruiting; here is one who thinks ARP makes war more likely.

## A.R.P. and the CHRISTIAN

**I**N dealing with the Christian attitude to ARP, we are concerned, not with the action we should take in wartime, but with the attitude we should adopt in peace time.

If we believed that war was inevitable, that nothing we could do could possibly prevent it, then I hope we should all be completely and wholeheartedly in support of ARP and all that it stands for.

But the whole point is that we don't believe war to be inevitable.

The fundamental ground of all the conflict which exists over the business of ARP is that we all believe in peace and we all want peace, but the question on which we are divided is whether or not the peace we all want will be helped or hindered by preparing ourselves for the possibility of war.

**THERE** are two possible approaches to the subject, and both of them can be based on the highest and most unselfish principles.

1. The man who takes the first approach says:

I hope for peace. I'm praying and planning and working for peace with all my powers. But my hopes may not be realized and my labours may be in vain. In that case, I feel it to be my duty to make sure that, if war comes, I have taken every possible step to protect and safeguard myself and those dependent on me from the ravages of attack from the air.

2. The man who takes the second approach says:

I also hope for peace. I'm praying for peace and working for peace, every bit as earnestly as the other man. But I believe that the only way to make sure of peace is to stake everything on it. If I safeguard myself against the possibility of war, I believe it will weaken my belief in peace and so lessen my efforts for peace. Therefore I prefer not to compromise with the idea of failure, and I'm prepared to take the risk, in the event of war, of being caught unprotected against it.

It would be as wrong to call the first man craven and selfish as to call the second

These are extracts from a recent sermon by the  
**REV. DAVID R. MACE,**  
Superintendent of Archway Central  
Hall, Highgate.

foolhardy and callous.

**I BELIEVE** the most we can say to Christian people is "There are the two possible courses open to you. You must follow your own light. At the present juncture the Church has no united mind on this matter." Whether that is a reproach to the Church or not, it represents the facts.

I have tried to approach this matter with a completely open mind. I have read everything I could lay hands on from both points of view. I have weighed the pros and cons and have come to the conclusion that, for me, the Christian way seems to point clearly toward the second course.

In saying this, I want to add at once that I cast no reflection at all on those who see the first as the way they must take. I believe they are as sincere as I am.

When I decide for the second course, I decide for myself only. I cannot judge those for whom the voice of duty and conscience point the other way.

**I**N my judgment, the whole ARP policy tends to increase the possibility of war, and therefore to defeat the aims of the true peacemakers.

If I didn't believe this, I would be entirely in favour of it, just as I am in favour of lifeboats and fire-escapes. But I believe it does; and therefore, because I believe peace is so desirable, and so precarious that we shall need all the resources we have at our disposal to make sure of it, I am prepared to sacrifice my security and

jettison my safeguards in a supreme effort to save my fellow-men from the carnival of destruction which a world war would bring in its train.

Now I want to tell you why I believe that ARP increases the possibility of war. It does it in two ways—one negative and the other positive.

Let us take the negative argument first.

I believe that one of the strongest factors in the prevention of war is the element of fear. We tend to think of fear as a bad thing. So it is, when it gets the upper hand in our lives. But in its right place fear plays a very important part in human life.

It has often been said that the only thing which is keeping Europe from a general conflagration is the fear of what it might involve. Now the first thing that ARP does is to take the keen edge off the fear of war.

No-one will deny that we are today drifting in the direction of war. We are not standing still—we are definitely drifting. If ARP gives us a safe and "comfy" feeling that, if war does come, we shall be all right, it means that we shall not make desperate efforts to stop the drift.

There's another aspect of the negative argument, too.

A year or so ago there was a good deal of talk about "positive peacemaking." I don't hear that talk now. A new interest has come into the field, and it is crowding out the old one.

There are practical things which all ordinary people can do in the cause of peace, but they can't be done while we are devoting our time and our interest to the task of preparing for war.

The concluding extracts from Mr. Mace's sermon, which we shall publish next week, will deal with the positive arguments against ARP.

\* In November last, the Estonian Government instituted proceedings against the Lithuanian Government regarding rights claimed by the Esimene Juurdeveo Raudteede Selts Venemaal Co., over the Panevezys-Saldutiskis railway. Each country nominated a judge to sit on the Bench to hear the case, and time-limits were fixed for the filing of the memorial, counter-memorial, reply, and rejoinder. Objections raised by Lithuania to the claims in the memorial had the effect of postponing the time-limit for the counter-memorial to September 1. The reply and rejoinder are to be received by the court by October 14 and November 25, respectively.



## SPEAKING PERSONALLY

# Stones of Stumbling

THE FIRST OF THREE ARTICLES

by

LAURENCE HOUSMAN

IT is remarkable that man, whom we regard as the crown of creation, seems to have had more difficulty in arriving at a right way of life—or the true law of his being—than any of the lower species.

No doubt many animals, in their struggle for survival, have had a hard time of it; some, we know, have gone under in the struggle; but those species which do survive have settled down into a consistent order of existence which has ceased to be experimental, and is not subject to those hectic chopplings and changes, those violent upheavals, those ups and downs, moral and physical, which mark and mar so distractingly the history of the human race.

**Man is the only species which has not discovered how to be at peace with itself, and lives in more fear and danger of its own kind—of fellow man—than any other herd or breed that you can name.**

Many animals are predatory, on other and weaker species. But the planned internecine destruction of man by man is a portent of horror which stands out alone in a world of which we say that, as regards the natural order, it has no moral guidance, and is subject to the physical law alone.

Only in that race where morals have been evolved, and where a moral purpose seems to be predicated in man's conceptions of right and wrong, only there has the *modus vivendi* of a single species become liable to hideous dissolution and destruction, and reversion toward chaos.

\* \*

NOW, that being so, if man is truly an evolutionary improvement on the lower species, he must have got hold of the wrong end of the stick, and be using it in a wrong way. Either that—or the ruler of the universe has discovered that man is a mistake, and is hounding him on to suicide as the only way to secure his extinction.

We are either fulfilling or resisting the evolutionary process; and if it really be heaven's intention that man should make good, and not cancel out, we are resisting it.

Quite obviously man has made enormous conquests, in terms of power and discovery, in his progress through the ages; he has brought to heel nearly all the things created in which he discerns a use: the world lies before him, a fair possession, if he only knew how to possess it fairly.

**Of recent years he has so increased his means of production, that want is no longer an economic necessity. If he had the right will for it, he could solve—at least throughout the civilized world—the problem of poverty; hunger need be no more, so far as his power of production is concerned.**

But, unlike the ant and the bee, those most socially organized forms among the lower species, he has not done so. And because he has not done so, he is still carrying on (for all the world as if there were not enough to go round) on those old lines of rivalry, jealousy, predatory aggression and destruction, for which there was a sort of reason while under-production and not over-production was the economic difficulty confronting him, as population increased.

That reason for the old internecine system of race against race, and nation against nation, has now gone. Man can produce more than he can find a use for. Yet, having come to that plethoric state, so that he has to disembowel his overstocked market by destruction, or by restriction of production, he is still confronted by the spectacle of vast numbers of his fellow-men in want of the things which he is destroying or refusing to produce.

WHAT is the matter? Man, having solved so many other problems, has not solved the problem of man; in a world of plenty he stands self-defeated; he is his own stumbling-block. And more and more it has become a moral defeat, because it is so wanton, so unnecessary. And if it is a moral defeat, there must be a moral cause for it.

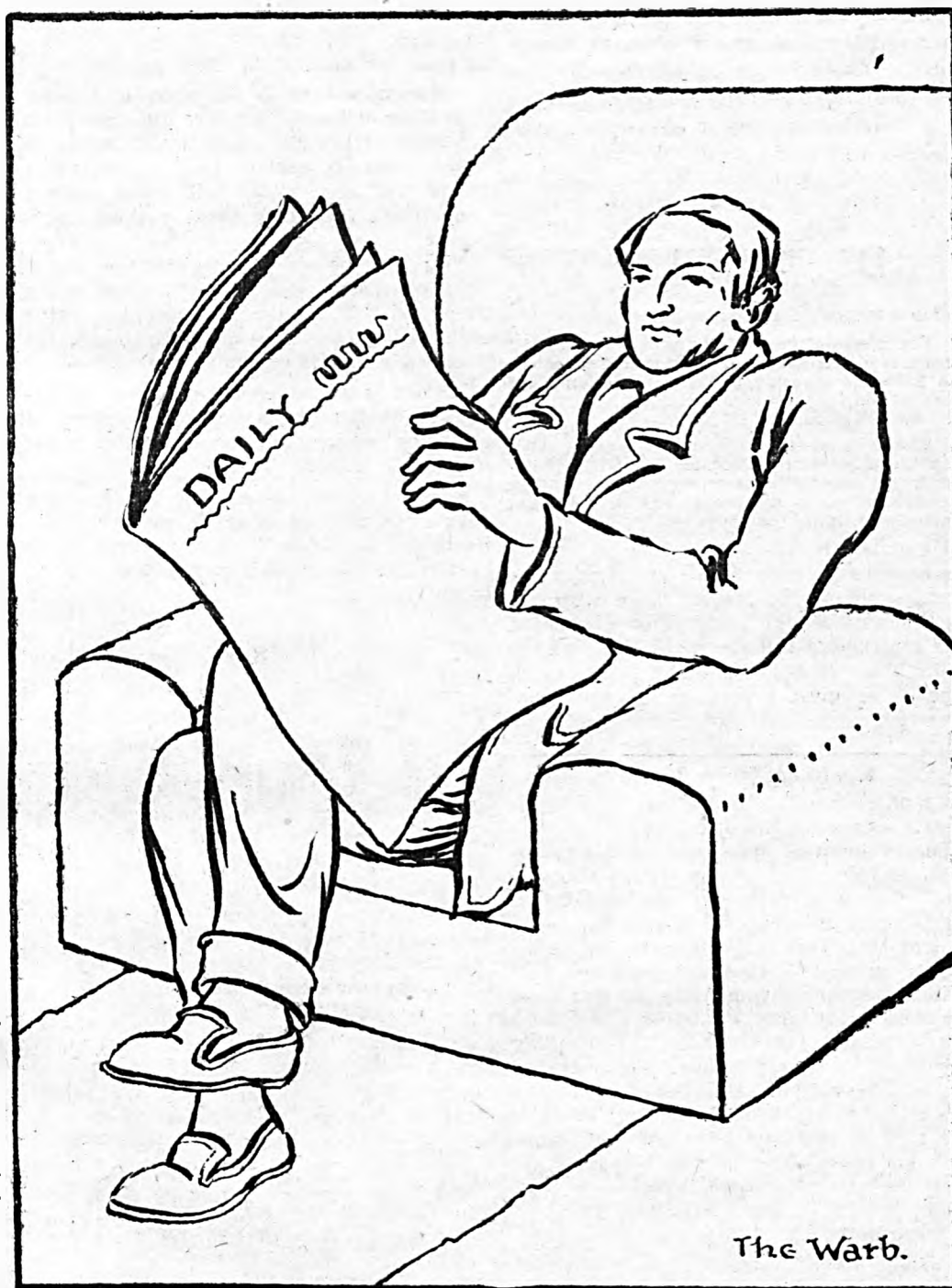
To those who honestly accept the Christian ethic, and don't dodge it by compromise with the watered-down institutionalism of State-established religion—who be-

case, is exactly the same.

Man has not yet cast the seed of his human nature into the right ground that lies waiting for it. Stones of stumbling have stood in the way; he has not got over them.

\* \*

WE speak generally of stones of stumbling as though they were evil things—obstructions to progress. But man's greatest stone of stumbling up to date has been the life and the teaching of Christ;



The Warb.

"Now, whom have I to hate today?"

Drawn by WILLIAM WARBIS

lieve that Christ's teaching was not only and again and again, in the Gospels and ideal, but profound and prophetic common in the Epistles, when a stone of stumbling sense—it must be broadly true that man's or of resistance is spoken of, it is not what trouble lies in a moral misreading of is false and dead, but what is true and human nature; that, emerging from an living that is so described. order of creation "red in tooth and claw," "We preach," said St. Paul, "Christ and, for a period vastly longer than that crucified; to the Jews a stumbling-block, of civilization, identified with that order in to the Greeks foolishness." And on that a desperate struggle for survival, he has stumbling-block he based the whole of his let the atavisms of his blood keep too long teaching. and too strong a hold on him, not having "I determined not to know anything the vision to perceive that human nature among you, save Jesus Christ, and him is as much (or even more) a thing of to-crucified."

Cast the seed upon stony rock, it dies; cast it upon dry shallow ground, it grows up stunted and withered; cast it into rich ground, and it comes to itself abundantly in its true form. But the seed, in each

The ABC of true Christianity is something over which the world still stumbles; something it still rejects, something it still refuses to believe in.

Christ himself spoke of it as a stone, on which, if a man fell, he would be broken:

which, if it fell on him, would grind him to powder; a stone, which the builders of the world had rejected, but was destined to become the headstone of the corner.

And what I think we need, and mostly lack as Christians is belief that that stone will become the headstone of the corner, not in the next world, but in this.

It was man's power to apprehend that there was in life something undiscovered and unknown, which started him on his long search for God, and on devising that which should the better relate him to the God of his conception—a religion.

\* \*

TRUE religion has been well and exactly, though a little coldly, defined, as "right relation to reality." What is most real behind the appearance of things: that it is with which, for true religion, man needs to be in right relation.

And so, if the ultimate reality be a God of wrath and vengeance, man's religion and conduct will take shape accordingly; and wrath and vengeance will be the key for the solution of life's problems; he will, if he is truly religious, reflect the character of his God; and wrath and vengeance will become his practical politics.

But if he comes to conceive that the ultimate reality is love; and that God is love, then it follows of necessity that love is the key for the solution of life's problems; and love, put into practice, here on earth, will become man's practical politics. Otherwise he is false to his religion—no longer in right relation to reality.

Religion, as I have said, sprang out of man's apprehension of the unknown; and took form according to man's interpretation of it; and the interpretation he gave to it was anthropomorphic—he first scaled his God to his own notion of what stood for power; and then gradually, by slow degrees, to his own notion of something higher—moral power, justice, truth, righteousness, and at last even mercy and forgiveness—but not by any means unconditional mercy and forgiveness; and, governed by those conceptions, you get a long series of anthropomorphic religions, on a gradually ascending moral scale; generally religions of observance, or ritual and sacrifice; faithful fulfilment of which satisfied the God's requirements.

But all those religions were racial and nationalistic, and were used to bolster up race against race, and nation against nation. And in doing so they were perfectly honest; because the conception of God as the universal father had not then entered men's heads; still less the idea that God was love, and that nothing but love could rightly express him in man's dealings with man. Religion, like its God, was still sectional and divided.

## A CALL TO ARMS

They called him at the dawn of youth; he went  
While meadows were ablaze with summer sun  
He left behind all those he loved, intent  
To serve and save his country—duty done.  
The drums' alarms rolled round the darkened earth,  
The thunder of the guns rolled through the air.  
He saw green fields and heard the merry mirth  
Of England's soaring minstrels. Then despair  
Stole through his frenzied brain, while cold black night  
On wings of agonizing death—crept o'er  
His bloodstained face; and 'ere dawn's silver light  
Illumed fields of sorrow steeped in gore  
He gave his life, destroying brother men  
In self-defence, at one score years and ten  
H.E.R.



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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post-card:—

**I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.**

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

August 27, 1938.

## HUMANITY FIRST

ANYONE who dared to stand up, amid the frenzy of activity going on all around us in the name of peace—made the more frenzied by the fact that it seems daily to be less successful in its purpose—and declare that the problem of peace and war is really very simple would, at best, be laughed to scorn—and, at worst, torn limb from limb by a mob of politicians, pacifists, and persons enraged by such an insult to the sincerity of their striving.

Yet we definitely believe that the task before those who would make peace is remarkably simple. And here it might not be unprofitable to digress for a moment to point out that "simple" is not the same as "easy." No-one will suggest that the attainment of peace is easy. But the complications with which it is hedged about are, in the main, unreal and only make the attainment of peace the more difficult.

Nor are we alone in this view. In a remarkable address to the annual summer school of the Geneva Institute of International Relations held recently, SENOR SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA, the former representative of Spain on the Council of the League of Nations, said, in effect, that the reason we did not have peace was that, for the great majority of people, the world did not exist—only their own particular country: people thought—and therefore acted—not in terms of humanity, but in terms of their several countries.

Could anything be simpler? As a matter of fact, we believe that is just a little too simple as an explanation of "the mess we're in." It is, unfortunately, slightly complicated by the fact that so many people nowadays have discovered other than national "homes." They think, for example, in terms of their economic class, or their (supposed) race, or their colour, or even of their "ideology," if not now of their religion so much.

Thus, to take examples from current and recent events, there is conflict in France between rival economic interests despite the fact that the country as a whole needs to be united; the REGENT OF HUNGARY visits Germany in the interests of Hungarians in and outside their country; GENERAL FRANCO replies to proposals designed to end the war in his country with counter-proposals whose delaying action will serve the interests of fascism; and so on. Almost alone in the whole world—at any rate among public figures—GEORGE LANSBURY interviews the heads of four more countries in the interests of humanity.

It is because of the purpose of his efforts that MR. LANSBURY'S activities hold the most hope for the peoples of the world—in spite of the fact that he meets with least "success" in the sense of immediate results in terms of peace. Which is another way of saying that he has realized that the way to peace, if difficult, is at least simple: there can be no peace until men think—and so act—in terms of humanity, of the world.

Nor should anyone comfort himself with the fatal delusion that an enlarged interest is necessarily a step toward a world interest, or away from the handicap of a limited interest. To imagine that thinking in terms, for example, of class, or ideology is an advance on thinking in terms of nation is merely to justify another form of the same principle of dividing instead of uniting mankind. While there are divisions there are the seeds (at least) of war. And what consolation is it to suffering human beings to know that they may now suffer as demo-

# The Power of the Press

by



Courtesy, Daily Herald

**LORD PONSONBY**

WE are apt to talk rather glibly about the power of the press, and from one side or another complaints are made with regard to bias, misrepresentation, inadequate reporting and suppression. But politicians and propagandists stop short in suggesting remedies and fear of an officially controlled press prevents them from formulating any constructive ideas or dealing with the increasing power of newspapers.

Editors and journalists have reached a higher standard of efficiency and capacity, their authority grows and with it facts not unmixed with fancy reach into the remotest recesses of the homes of the people.

The establishment of a strictly controlled press in several countries must now be taken into account. Just off-hand condemnation of it is not enough. I have been reading a full report of the speech made by Reich Press Chief Dr. Dietrich before representatives of the Diplomatic Corps and the foreign press in Berlin. It is as well to understand fully the point of view of a believer in any creed before condemning it.

★

DR. DIETRICH lays down two definitions of a "free" press and a controlled press:

The essential characteristic of the liberalist press is to be found in the fact that it conceives it to be its vocation to provide a channel of expression for individual opinion and criticism of the State and its institutions.

The national-socialist idea of the community, on the other hand, allocates a fundamentally different duty to the press: namely, to bring the individual to a comprehension of the vital principles of the community.

He elaborates the system now ruling the German press with detail and eloquence. Under a dictatorial régime there is no sort of difficulty about controlling the press. The underlying fallacy in the principle on which the system is founded is not so much that "the vital principles of the community" are laid down by one man

(continued from Col. 1)

crats, or workers, instead of only as English people, Germans, Russians, Italians?

The problem of peace and war is essentially simple. Either you regard yourself (and others) as primarily an Englishman (or German, or whatever it may be) or as a democrat (or authoritarian), or as an Aryan (or Jew)—in which case you will naturally support armaments and war (and the consequent lying and hating) to defend your England (or Germany), democracy (dictator), race, or whatever it may be—or you realize that you are primarily a human being, that so is your former enemy or rival, and that in that you have common cause with all your fellow human beings wherever they may be, whatever they may think, whatever the variations in their physical make-up.

Perhaps it is necessary here to add that such a view of man's primary nature is not to be interpreted as implying a blindness to evil done in the name of country, "race," class, or, indeed, under any pretext whatever. On the contrary, it is the very justification of, for example, an English Christian's concern for the right treatment of German Jews, which would, in fact, not be justified if national or religious interests were regarded as supreme. Which explains, and proves sincere, German indignation at such "interference." But such a view of human oneness must also ensure that only those methods of dealing with evil are adopted that have regard for the fundamental humanity of the evil-doer as well as the sufferer.

Even when these plain alternatives are realized by a substantial number of people, even when they have made what would seem to be the obvious choice between them, the path to the adjustment and harmonizing of the infinite varieties of conditions of life among them will not be easy. But at least let us not make things more difficult than we can help by pretending that the task is too complicated for us to tackle at all, let alone to go a long way toward solving.

and his satellites nor, indeed, the suppression of individual opinion, but failure to see that you cannot dragoon public opinion for generation after generation.

Human nature in Germany or indeed in Italy or Russia is not so different from human nature elsewhere for the rulers to be absolutely certain that a generation will not arise which will react against doctrines forced on them without argument.

You may be able to regiment them up to a point but you will not know when the inevitable revulsion of opinion begins and, without any free expression, how far it extends and is growing.

It has always been peculiarly shortsighted of dictators not to take account of a factor which in the long run must overthrow them.

Moreover, the youth of today is more than ever inclined to think out things for itself and to refuse to accept ready-made opinion, the more so if compulsion is used to enforce it.

★

BUT when Dr. Dietrich turns his attention to an attack on the so-called free press, he gives a number of telling quotations and undoubtedly makes out a strong case against sensationalism, false reports, the stirring up of hostile passions and, more especially, the domination of a plutocracy.

Illustrations are not far to seek in America and even in our own country. On occasions, we know, the press is very far from expressing public opinion.

But in a democracy, politically speaking, a general election is, in a rough and ready way, a method of ascertaining the will of the people at a given moment. Even here the press may queer the pitch.

But there is a further consideration which we as well as Dr. Dietrich should take into account. Intensive press propaganda may quite well have the exact opposite effect to that intended.

In the General Election of 1906 the Conservative newspapers were far in the majority throughout the country (in Scotland there were only two Liberal papers). Yet the result of that election produced the largest majority for the Liberals ever gained by any political party.

I have heard socialists greatly regret the demise of the *Morning Post*. It was an enormous asset to socialism.

Not long ago I talked to a great American press magnate and asked him whether on the whole he did not find that the public reacted against press propaganda as much as, if not more than, they were influenced by it. He smiled and, without committing himself to words, nodded.

In fact there is such a thing as overdoing it. The dictatorships will find this out one day—for them too late.

★

IN the periodical in which the Reich Press Chief's speech is printed (*Völkerrund*) a long and favourable review is given, with many quota-

tions, of my book *Falsehood in War Time*.

It seems almost incredible that the editor should not have seen that, in so far as I was attacking the press, it was a controlled press I was showing up. In war time in every belligerent country the press has to be controlled to all intents and purposes and the propagation of lies is a war necessity.

It has been suggested to me several times since I compiled my book that I should produce a companion volume entitled *Falsehood in Peace Time*. But manifestly the range would be far beyond anyone's reach.

Just now I receive every week well-got-up and convincing books, newspapers, and pamphlets with "authentic facts" about Franco's operations and also the methods of the Spanish Government, about the Japanese and also about the Chinese, about the Czechs and also about the Sudeten Germans, about the Abyssinians and also about the Italians. As I do not find them useful even in following the courses of wars or the courses of diplomacy I shovel them all unread into my rubbish basket.

★

WE in the Peace Pledge Union, thank goodness, are not dependent in the main part of our work on the praise or blame of any set of combatants or disputants.

Nor should we, were the dark clouds to reach our own shores, take for granted or believe a single printed paragraph of the leaflets and newspapers which would be showered over us. We are not concerned with what editors think nor with reports of events.

Whatever may be the truth with regard to unascertainable "facts," and whatever opinions may be expressed by leading authorities, we take our stand on a fundamental and unalterable principle: that in no conceivable circumstances should any attempt be made to settle any dispute between nations by means of mutual massacre, which is desperately cruel, utterly useless, and fatally degrading, not only to national life, but to humanity as a whole.

Nevertheless in the meanwhile, we must watch vigilantly those who with bellows may be bent on blowing smouldering embers into flames, be they autocrats, plutocrats, or irresponsible half-wits, and we must with discrimination give encouragement and support to the reputable organs of our press on which the people may still rely.

## EPIGRAMS

### DISARMING AN ENEMY

Safer to reconcile a foe than make  
A conquest of him for the conquest's sake;  
This tames his power of doing present ill  
But that disarms him of the very will.

### REPROOF IN ANGER

To give reproof in anger, to be sure,  
Whate'er the fault, is not the way 'o' cure;  
Would a wise doctor offer, do you think,  
The sick his potion scalding hot to drink?

### OTHER FOLK'S FAULTS

Set not the faults of other folk in view,  
But rather mind what thou thyself  
Should'st do;

For twenty errors of thy neighbour known  
Will tend but little to reform thine own.

### "PATRIOTISM"

"Love of our country"—'tis the manly  
sound  
That clads with armour all the virtues  
round.

Where is this lovely country to be sought?  
Why, 'tis Great Britain in their little  
thought;

And the two States, which our divines  
advance—

The Heaven of England and the Hell of  
France.

—John Burom (1692-1762)



# GAS-MASK TESTS: THE FACTS

*A.R.P. Designed To Keep the Common People Quiet*

## BUT THE RICH HAVE THEIR "HIDE-OUTS"

Special to PEACE NEWS by ROY WALKER

**L**AST week the *Daily Express* published the sensational results of an investigation into the efficiency of the Government's civilian respirator and the experiments showed clearly that the gas masks, of which the Government is making 40,000,000 (30,000,000 are already made) at a cost of £5,000,000, are useless against the arsenical smokes which they admit in their own official handbook would be used against us if another war breaks out.

The Home Office, of course, was quick to point out that the masks tested are only intended to protect civilians for the short time during which they are supposed to be

### Panic

**A**N eminent psychologist was asked to address a psychological society recently and to choose his own subject.

He gave the title of his address as: "Panic and Air Raid Precautions," and added in a postscript: "If, by the time I come to speak, ARP is out of date, I will simply speak on 'Panic.'"

making for the cover of a gas-proof room. Civilians are not expected to be so foolish (!) as to stay for long in the presence of gas, and in any case not of a high concentration of gas such as the masks were tested in.

But now that this public inquiry has started it will want to know a lot more about protection from other forms of attack—against incendiary bombs, and the dreaded high-explosive shells that have been used so much, and with such deadly effect in China and Spain. (No gas has been used in China or Spain).

The truth must be told. Can ARP really protect us? Or is it only intended to keep us quiet?

This is what Sir Samuel Hoare said last November. Our ARP must achieve two objectives. "In the first place, ensure the country against panic, and, in the second place, ensure that the services of the country will continue to be maintained."

Not a word about the direct preservation of life. And how can the vital services be protected? How does ARP propose to protect reservoirs and gas-works and light-mains and sewers?

**It is not denied that ARP can be made effective for individuals—but even then it is only for the privileged and rich.** The following advertisement, from Saturday's Times, reveals this quite clearly:

A.R.P.—WANTED, GUEST or GUESTS to share expenses lovely house, secluded, Westmorland valley; car a necessity; hunting and shooting available.—Write Box—

But the fact is that the official effort to protect the common people of our country must be so inadequate as to mean that they, as usual, are to suffer most.

In June a PPU member, Mr. F. D. Bush, deputy architect to Scotland Yard, got up at a meeting of the British Architects Institute and told the Home Secretary to his face, in his considered opinion, ARP was "nonsense."

A week later a State nurse wrote to the Home Office complaining that the official training course she had taken was merely theoretical and absolutely insufficient for practical use.

Both these statements are borne out by the opinion of Mr. W. J. Brown, secretary of the Civil Service Clerical Association, who told the press in October "Nothing has been done to make any Government building either bomb-proof or gas-proof, and we have no confidence at all in the efficacy of present air-raid precautions

methods—courses in first aid and the use of gas masks and decontamination equipment. Civil Servants are advised not to enrol in Government air raid instruction classes." More recently he described ARP as "about as much use as sticking-plaster on a wooden leg."

The new investigation only confirms the findings of other qualified scientists who have studied the Government's proposed anti-gas precautions.

A group of Cambridge scientists published their criticism and experimental data last year but their work was dismissed by Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd with a sneer about "political bias."

A fortnight later Professor William Bone, Chief Professor of the Imperial College of Science and Technology, wrote to the press exposing the total inadequacy of the Salisbury Plain experiments with which the Home Office had attempted to silence the growing body of opinion that demanded the publication of a scientific basis for the ARP recommendations. Professor Bone's criticisms were repeated in the House of Lords by Lord Arnold and remain unanswered.

But the official ARP speakers have been touring the country making dogmatic and unproved assertions about the absolute



Two Danish girls (first and third from left) were among the hundred guests at a holiday home in the Lake District—a picture taken by a reader in the grounds of Wray Castle, off Lake Windermere.

efficiency of the civilian respirator—although they usually forget to mention that it is no good against mustard gas and lewisite which attacks all parts of the body.

Leaflets issued by the Peace Pledge Union, stating that the gas masks would not keep out arsenical smokes, have been attacked by people in control of ARP in many towns, and the urgent request that these statements should be scientifically demonstrated has been ignored.

The publicity given to the *Daily Express* experiments will surely compel those in authority to give us proof. There is no question of official secrets here. The precautions can be found in a handbook which anyone can buy for a few pence. Surely the experiments on which they are alleged to be based are not confidential? In any case we have a right to know the truth. And if the Government will not test their ARP others will.

Lord Baldwin has told us that modern war is all attack. Perhaps that is why the Government is spending fifty shillings on rearmament for every shilling on ARP—although it gives us fifty words on ARP for every one on rearmament.

In the House of Commons a few months ago it was suggested that the Government was afraid to inform the country what the situation was. But this is literally an issue of life and death for every one of us.

We want the truth about ARP. And not what Captain Biard aptly calls Air Raid Prevarications.

## Wants to Meet Other Pacifist Scouters

**B**ELIEVING that there ought to be a Scouter's Pacifist Group, Harold W. King, Group Scoutmaster of the 79th Reading Group, has thought of a way for pacifist Scouters to meet next month.

He is going to the annual reunion camp in Gilwell Park and will station himself near the Providence on Saturday, September 10, from 7.45 p.m. to eight, and on Sunday from 9.30 a.m. to 9.45. He will be wearing a Peace Pledge Union badge, and would like to meet fellow pacifists at the camp.

"In Reading recently," Mr. King told PEACE NEWS, "seven of us Scouters spoke our minds on Scouting and ARP. Yet everywhere I am afraid that Scouting is definitely going away from its own teaching in the Scout Laws."

"Now our headquarters are supplying armlets for Scouts, to be worn when on ARP work and a picture appears in this month's *Scouter*, called 'Sign of the times,' showing Scouts in uniform and gas masks in a demonstration."

"There is an official leaflet called *Is Scouting Military?* but it was written years ago and does not read well after knowledge that HQ place patriotism before international brotherhood. I have been to several jamborees and have been in the movement for seventeen years, and have camped with Scouts in Switzerland and France."

"What must these 'rotter Scouts of mine' think when they hear that we are rapidly becoming self-centred nationalists?"

"We pacifists are not wanted in Scouting. Our views are never allowed to be printed in Scout papers and in our local spheres we are looked on as hopeless fanatics."

Mr. King's address is 182 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.

(Pacifists in the Scout movement are invited to write to John Barclay, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.)

## Christian Pacifists' National Congress

It is hoped that Christian pacifist groups all over the country will be represented at a Congress of Christian Pacifists to be held in Friends House, Euston Road, London, from September 22 to 24, under the auspices of the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups. In addition, other Christian pacifists, or those in sympathy with that position, are invited to attend as individual members.

The general subject of the congress will be "The Principles of Christian Pacifism and its Task." The object is to enable those who hold deep conviction on this subject to meet and, with the help of some of their ablest leaders, to gain fresh clearness as to fundamentals and new vision as to the present-day expression of their faith.

Speakers will include the Rev. Henry Carter, Rev. A. C. Craig, Professor C. H. Dodd, Rev. James Fraser, Miss Ruth Fry, George Lansbury, Professor G. H. C. Macgregor, Canon Stuart D. Morris, J. Middleton Murry, Canon C. E. Raven, Rev. Leyton Richards, Rev. W. C. Roberts, and Dr. Alex Wood.

A detailed programme and cards of membership admitting to the congress will be available shortly from the office of the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, 16 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1. All those interested who may be able either to attend or to influence others to do so should write as soon as possible to that address. A charge of 2s. 6d. will be made for membership cards.

## Science Goes Forward —but Man . . . ?

LORD PONSONBY'S RADIO WARNING

**"M**AN'S ingenuity has advanced by leaps and bounds, but quite certainly there is no equivalent advance in his moral sense," said Lord Ponsonby in a broadcast last Friday "On Being Up-to-Date."

"Science I admit has made giant strides," he continued.

"But after all, as has been well said, the purpose of civilization is not the progress of science but the progress of man."

"Some people may contend that we are indeed cleaner, better, healthier, and wiser than our predecessors. I won't contradict them; but it has yet to be proved."

### PREPARING DESTRUCTION

"I would remind you also that while science may have made life easier and more comfortable for many people, at the same time man's inventive genius is hard at work devising methods for destroying life and property on a scale undreamt of in human history."

"If these terrible inventions are ever tested by use on a large scale, we shall hardly be able to claim that we are more civilized when, as a result of our efforts, we destroy such civilization as we have."

## RADIO THRILLER WITH A MORAL

The sudden appearance of thousands of monster crabs threatens to exterminate the entire human race.

In the unity created out of the struggle against the monsters humanity forgets its lesser discords and learns to cooperate for the common good.

**T**HAT, in brief, was the theme of *Terror from the Sea*, broadcast on Saturday night. Described as "a fantasy, a thriller . . . and a parable," by Froom Tyler, it was based on Eden Phillpotts's novel, *The Owl of Athene*.

The monsters were as fearsome as any to be met in a boy's tale of adventure, being as large as tanks. One species had the engaging habit of emitting deadly poisonous gas.

The subsequent frantic search for the perfect gas mask (eventually successful), had an all too topical angle to it. Even then, however, humanity was nearly beaten.

### LESSON OF UNITY

United under Robert Falconer, World Leader (and former British Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs) it fights a losing battle while crabs overrun Japan, Australia, India, South Africa. At the eleventh hour, with the enemy advancing up the Bristol Channel, Albert Mugg, a mild little pharmaceutical chemist, is able to persuade the World Leader to try out a chemical which, he claims, will prove fatal if directed on to the crabs' eyes.

"Mugg's acid" works, and its discoverer becomes the saviour of mankind. Twenty years later Falconer unveils the greatest of the many memorials erected to him, and recalls how the fight against the crabs taught men that all war was civil war.

And the gods, who had sent the invader for that express purpose, were well pleased

## STUDENTS' DELEGATES IN CHINA

Sympathy shown by people in the West has been greatly appreciated in China, reports a world student delegation which recently visited that country.

At a conference on problems raised by the war, held at Hunan University, a Chinese speaker expressed regret that trade figures showed Japan to be the largest buyer of military supplies from the United States.

Members of the student delegation have been attending the World Youth Congress in the USA.



## The PURPOSE of the PEACE PLEDGE UNION

It is an axiom of sociology that the result of association is relative to the purpose of association. If people come together to deplore each other's eccentricities, that is very likely what they will do. If they come together to cooperate in the realization of an ideal—that is also what they will probably achieve.

The pacifist movement is an association of a special type; it is a minority movement cutting across several associations—economic, political, and religious. In fact, the union may shortly be defined as an association of minorities drawn from older associations.

It would be interesting to discover what percentage of the members of the union came in directly, without being attached to a minority group or "heresy" within a larger group, as for example the Christian pacifists within the Church, or the Tolstoy pacifists within the socialist movement.

THE point is important at the moment. For if the majority within the union are pacifists first, and members of political, religious and other minorities afterward, then the movement as a whole need waste no further time in inter-minority debate.

If, on the other hand, the majority are attached to their minority groups first with a kind of secondary allegiance to the union, then the common line of agreement must be fought out and decided upon as quickly

### A member's view, in which the significance of recent discussions of the basis of pacifism is dealt with

as possible. Otherwise there will be dissension at every new step.

For the pacifist movement is a policy-determining association, as much as any of the political parties, and, as such, must be capable not only of criticizing current opinions, but of selecting decisively from among them, and of formulating new ones.

It is obvious that the former alternative is the more desirable, viz., that pacifists should make pacifism their dominant interest, rather than the interest of the minority group of which they happen to be members. The second alternative—which amounts to group compromise—is too like those unsatisfactory combinations known as "Popular Fronts," whose outstanding characteristic is that they rarely possess a back.

ROUGHLY speaking, it would appear that the union consists more of pacifists than of Anglican pacifists or syndicalist pacifists. But the recent outcropping of group self-consciousness within the union—noticeable not only in PEACE NEWS, but also on the campaign through England—has raised queries which require investigation.

It is characteristic of minority movements within a community that when questions of policy become confused, the sections within become self-conscious.

The problem becomes clearer because the cry for unity, in the face of a common enemy, is insufficient to inspire a pacifist movement; a movement which professes to uphold the superiority of individual conscience must have both integrity of purpose and strength of organization.

Most political movements only possess the latter. Just lately the controversy has ranged over the non-vital question of humanism and Christianity. Dr. Belden, in his recent articles, concluded that "Pacifism is not enough"; the vegetarians and anti-vivisectionists agree with him. Live dangerously and be a challenge, has been the cry of one group. Be normal and hide the oddities, was the retort of those headed by the Mumfords.

Finally came the stormy vehemence of one who saw, not heaven in a wild flower, but masochism in a poster-parade.

THERE is nothing detrimental in controversy as such. Movements, like individuals, must have the self-conscious criticism which is essential to their development. And those who have given up the use of their hands in settling disputes must be exceptionally good with their heads.

But some forms of controversy are signs of weakness: a retreat from the main point at issue, a lapse into subordinate competitive interests. Such a controversy is likely to obstruct the determination of essential issues and thus impede activity.

This is just the pitfall which the union at the moment is most anxious to avoid. Now the first struggle for recognition has been won, support and opposition are beginning to crystallize, the burning question is what are we proposing to do, and how?

The union is not out to build character, but to harness it to an ideal; it is not a missionary society, nor a debating club.

It is, by implication of the principle upon which it was founded, a revolutionary mass movement. And as such it has peculiarly arduous and delicate functions to perform—especially within the next few months.

The people of the country are not asking whether the union consists of humanists, Christians, or agnostics, but what is its alternative policy in politics, economics, colonial problems, unemployment, and the thousand other matters contingent to rearmament.

AMONG other things the Union has

1. To increase by a long way the efficiency of its own organization as a means of
2. increasing the effectiveness of its propaganda, especially
3. with a view to drawing in the working classes and Trade Unions to whom
4. the technique of non-violent resistance must be explained and demonstrated.

The last activity involves the whole problem of the individual's training in the study and practice of non-violence, which provides the link between individual and group action.

Each member needs to become an informed and disciplined exponent of non-violence; the union as a whole has, by specific stages, a revolution to effect.

In the words of Nehru,

Submission to violence or the acceptance of an unjust régime based on violence is the very negation of the spirit of non-violence. The non-violent method, in order to justify itself must be dynamic and capable of changing such a régime or social order.

If the self-criticism within the union is directed toward these ends there is nothing to be said. But if, as I suggest, it is an obstacle to these ends, it can no longer be allowed to impede the development of the movement at such a critical period of its growth.

Margaret Pope

#### PEACE PLEDGE UNION

##### New Signatures to the Peace Pledge—

Will Group Leaders receiving these please check that they are **LEGIBLE and COMPLETE** before passing them on to Headquarters?

## PEACE PLEDGE UNION, 96 Regent St., London, W1.

Phone: REGENT 2843

### "Things we want you to know"

August 27th, 1938



#### POSTERS Recently Issued

#### DO YOU MAKE ENOUGH

use of the priced pamphlets which deal more fully with varied aspects of the Pacifist case than is possible in a free leaflet?

#### SEND SIXPENCE

and ask for a

#### "SPECIAL PARCEL"

DO IT NOW!

Post Free.

#### "THE MEANING OF REARMAMENT"

by Max Plowman

Explains the connection between FASCISM and REARMAMENT.

PRICE 2D.

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| No. |                                                                                                                                  |         |
| 26  | "Dick Sheppard's work goes on and will go on"                                                                                    |         |
| 27  | "Mobilize for Peace with the P.P.U."                                                                                             |         |
| 28  | "Armaments are preventing the outbreak of Peace"                                                                                 |         |
| 29  | "War must be renounced as well as denounced"                                                                                     | 20 x 30 |
| 30  | "War is not playing the game"                                                                                                    | 2D.     |
| 31  | "A good tip—'Constructive Pacifism' by 'Co-operation' out of 'Goodwill'"                                                         | EACH    |
| 32  | "A.R.P., the thing you play when you're DEAD; P.P.U., the thing to join if you're ALIVE to the realities of the world situation" |         |
| 34  | "Peace can be negotiated—but never dictated"                                                                                     |         |
| 33  | "Lighter than the Sword," a lovely poster in colour                                                                              | 3D.     |

#### WHEN ORDERING LEAFLETS FOR

#### FREE DISTRIBUTION

Please consider carefully the quantity you are prepared to distribute and pay for, as these

leaflets are not returnable.

#### "AIR RAID PREVARICATIONS"

By Capt. H. C. BIARD

(Test Pilot and Schneider Trophy Winner)

1/- 100

10/- 1000

#### SPECIAL NOTICE.

In view of the great demand for this pamphlet, Groups desiring to make a large distribution of it will be assisted by a reduction in price for quantities. Ask for quotation.

#### P. P. U. TIES

Ample Supplies

Now Available

GOOD VALUE  
TASTE

Can be safely worn anywhere (except in your bath).

PRICE 2/- Postage 1½d.



## England

A RIVAL TO  
ARMY  
MANOEUVRES

HAMPSHIRE is in the news because of army manoeuvres, but from August 6 to 19 there was another interest for the public—the visit of the PPU publicity van. Unlike the army, however, the van cannot be said to have attracted large crowds, but it proved its value in other ways.

Leaflets distributed before meetings brought the name of the PPU where it had not been known before. Regional organization proved its worth in finding support for the meetings, and the microphone on the van also led several members to make their initial speeches.

The Hampshire tour began at the weekend in Bournemouth, where one meeting was held on the cliff top. From Monday to Thursday the van was on the outskirts of the New Forest and visited places on the coast including Christchurch, Highcliffe, New Milton, Lymington.

The speaker till Thursday was Nigel Spottiswoode, assisted by C. W. Hope Gill, Hampshire regional secretary, who drove the van in the absence of the regular driver owing to illness.

A crowd outside the oil works at Fawley was addressed on Friday, and on Saturday there were meetings at Lyndhurst and Totton. At Lyndhurst an open-air meeting was not allowed and it had to be held in a hall. At Totton no open space was made available for the PPU and the van was halted in a member's yard.

Besides three village meetings addressed in the Broughton area on the first Sunday, there was a meeting in the village hall there in the evening, when Canon Stuart Morris, chairman of the PPU, was in great form. About 100 people attended out of the village's total population of 900.

In one of the villages in the Winchester area on the second Monday a woman tore the posters off the van—the only hostile incident of the tour. In the evening Roy Walker, who was with the van for this period, addressed a meeting in the Winchester Broadway.

Employees outside the Southern Railway Works, Pirelli-General and Caustons, were addressed on Tuesday. Douglas Brown, who was having his first experience of outdoor speaking, had now joined the van and continued with it. Another meeting, after visits to villages in the afternoon, was held in the centre of Eastleigh.

On Wednesday villages in the Alton area were visited, and on Thursday the tour ended in Haslemere, which, though in Surrey, is in the Hampshire PPU region. Arrangements for meetings were excellent and were held in the centre of Liphook, outside Haslemere Town Hall and at the Huts Hotel, Hindhead, where coach loads of people saw the van, and heard the speakers. One of the speakers here was the Rev. M. Tupper, of Albury, Guildford.

On Friday the van continued into Berkshire, having been re-joined by its original driver, Mr. Sidwell.

SCARBOROUGH MEMBERS TAKE  
A HOLIDAY

The fortnightly meetings of the Scarborough group have been well maintained during the summer months, but last Saturday the indoor meeting gave place to the annual outing, when members and friends journeyed by motor coach to Langdale End.

The party was welcomed on arrival by the president, the Rev. William Wallace, and the chairman, Mr. John Hunter, and after taking part in a treasure hunt a programme of sports and games was much enjoyed. Afternoon tea was served in the open-air.

The chairman expressed satisfaction at the opportunity of meeting together in such happy circumstances as a preliminary to a strenuous autumn and winter campaign. He announced that the Rev. William Wallace had agreed to take the chair on November 11, when Mr. Laurence Housman will address a public meeting in the Queen Street Central Hall, Scarborough.

Mr. Wallace, the president, said his duties prevented his attendance at meetings as often as he would like. Nevertheless he was not merely a figure-head but gave active and open support to the Peace Pledge Union in the pulpit and in other ways.

He said the present period was like that of the children of Israel between the land of bondage and the promised land. This was their wilderness period. Ultimately the world would accept their creed, but not immediately.

If there was one thing, he said, of which they could be sure, it was that the Creator of the universe meant men to dwell together in this world in peace and brotherhood.

## Wales

"PEACEMAKERS" NOW  
IN THEIR  
STRIDE

THE new National Council in Wales has commenced work in earnest under the leadership of its chairman, Richard Bishop, and with the enthusiastic help of the secretary, Mrs. A. E. Humphreys.

A copy of the manifesto has been sent to every church and chapel in the Principality.

The Literature Committee has issued a leaflet explaining the aims and the objects of the PPU in Wales. Copies of the leaflet can be obtained from the secretary, Ewenni, Wrexham, at 6d. per 100, or 5s. per 1,000.

The following is a free translation of the leaflet:—

**Heddychwy'r Cymru** (The Peace Makers of Wales)

Heddychwy'r Cymru is a movement of people who hate war and who refuse to have anything to do with it. It originated in England, through the fiery appeal of the late Canon Dick Sheppard for the signatures of those who would pledge themselves to an utter refusal to support war.

A vast number of people have already joined the movement. It is led by well-known and eminent men whose names rank high in spheres, religious, scientific, literary, and political, such as Canon Raven, Bertrand Russell, Aldous Huxley and Lord Ponsonby.

The movement is presided over by George Lansbury, the chairman being Canon Stuart Morris, and the chief organizer, John Barclay.

Even in its early stages the movement rapidly spread through parts of Wales, and the list of officers given below proves that men and women from every section of our public life in Wales have devoted themselves enthusiastically to the campaign.

Members are drawn from church and street, of every creed, sect, and party; they come from pulpit, stores, and workshop, from farms, schools, and colleges.

The object of the movement is to bring those who reject war in every shape and form, to a clear and definite declaration of their belief and determination, and through that declaration to persuade their Government to accept the policy of pacification and cooperation among nations.

Wales stands naturally for peace. Its people realize that war is always futile and even worse. It has no confidence in armaments as defence, neither is it moved by proud imperialistic motives. Fundamentally it believes that the religion which it professes will annihilate war in the heart of man, and in the life of nations.

We hope to be able to rouse and mobilize this spirit. We are out to get a multitude to join us, from every city and hamlet, from every town, village, and dale. We shall make known our message in every part of Wales. We would also instruct and train ourselves, and others, by means of study circles in church and other spheres.

Already there are ten thousand Welsh members enrolled, and busy branches are at work throughout North and South Wales. We should be able to multiply our membership tenfold, and at the same time we should endeavour to enlarge our conception of the meaning of true peace and its conditions.

We appeal to you whose sympathies are with us. We ask you to join us and thus strengthen the testimony of Wales against all war throughout the world.

GEORGE M. LI. DAVIES, President.  
LADY ARTEMUS JONES, Vice-President.  
RICHARD BISHOP, Chairman.  
REV. R. J. JONES, Vice-Chairman.  
E. DAN THOMAS, Treasurer.  
ANNIE E. HUMPHREYS, Secretary.

## The Next

London Group Leaders'  
Meeting

will be held the  
First Tuesday in September

## Group Notes

RETURNING from a holiday in the days before the PPU existed, I was conscious of a sinking sensation only to be found on such occasions: or on the dentist's doorstep. Gone was the dream of the previous two weeks and the next few days faced me as a nightmare.

This year I left the Welsh mountains—full of regret certainly—but the inspiration they had given me was reinforced by the knowledge that I was on my way to join people who would inspire me still further. It was this made me press my foot still more on the accelerator pedal and come back along the A.5 route in record time.

Here and there signposts pointed to places which thrilled me because they were known to me as red pins on my office map—towns where there is a group well established or growing rapidly. Other signs made me depressed as they gave no answering thrill but told of places still to conquer.

Energy must find channels and mine is going to be directed along those which lead to these unmarked places

## Scotland

TAKING THE  
MESSAGE TO  
THE PEOPLE

HERE is this week's news from Scotland:

**Edinburgh.** It was decided, at a meeting of the Edinburgh region held last week, to go ahead with plans for the opening of a Peace Centre. Excellent work is being done by a small team at open-air meetings on The Mound, Scotland's "Hyde Park." Meetings are conducted every Sunday, and a new group has been formed from the "converts" made there.

**Glasgow.** At its monthly meeting last week the region placed on record its appreciation of the services of its chairman, the Rev. E. Foster, who leaves Glasgow for Morecambe. If pacifists in the latter town desire support or leadership, here it is. An English pacifist trained in Scotland!

**Troon.** This group recently conducted a flag day in aid of local propaganda funds. The sum of £25 was collected. A contingent from the Glasgow region supported them.

What were fortnightly open-air meetings at the beginning of the summer are now being conducted every Sunday. The PPU policy is stated to considerable crowds of holiday-makers and is not failing to win supporters.

## Members write on

## Non-Violence

I have seen little or no emphasis placed upon the "technique of non-violence" in PEACE NEWS recently.

To me this seems to be the essence of pacifism. If we renounce the war method, we must adopt some other method to use in its place.

I suggest:

1. It is time that a body of people be trained in the skilful use of non-violence—they would be the "shock troops" of the peace army.

2. A course of lectures based on Richard Gregg's book should be available to members. They could be in printed form for provincial signatories.

Is it not quite certain that all our efforts in propaganda and securing tens of thousands of members will be of no avail unless this training in non-violence is taken seriously?

J. R. PARKINSON.

71, Hillfield Avenue, N.8.

## Contributions

There must be many people who wish to contribute more than at present to the funds of the PPU and yet are quite unable to do so.

May I make a suggestion that I have put into practice myself when wishing to make contributions which I could not afford? If they have any articles of value, great or small, which they cannot make use of and which never see the light of day, could they not sell them and devote the proceeds to the funds of the PPU?

ADA E. FARMER.

10 Old Orchard Road, Eastbourne, Sussex.

## "Peace News"

May I make two suggestions, please?

1. That more constructive and positive headlines take the place of those criticizing ARP, &c., on front page of PEACE NEWS.

2. That readers offer to pay for an additional copy of PEACE NEWS if bookseller will display it, and it is not sold by end of week. (We did: and it has been sold!)

HILDA FRANCIS.

Rosneath, Morda Road, Oswestry.

## The Notice Board

## Meetings

All members of the City PPU group are urged to attend a business meeting on September 1, at 5.30 p.m., when arrangements will be made for the public meeting in October.

**Bewdley.**—Weekend school on "The Progress of the Peace Pledge Union," September 17 & 18; speaker, Roy Walker. Members intending to be present, please apply at once to Mrs. B. A. Phillips, 57 Middle Park Road, Selly Oak, Birmingham, 29.

Groups are invited to send names and addresses of people (pacifists or others) within easy reach of the City, who might be persuaded to attend a meeting addressed by Lord Ponsonby, George Lansbury, and Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence on October 25, to City PPU Group, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4.

**T. Kaye Earnshaw,** 29 Whittaker Avenue, Layton, Blackpool, would be pleased to hear from pacifists (speakers particularly) visiting Blackpool, who would like to assist at open-air meetings on the sands.

**Romford group** now holds open-air meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. in the Romford Market Place.

**West Norwood group** will not meet in St. Luke's Church Hall, which is undergoing redecoration, until September 13 when Mr. Sydney Larcombe will speak on the WRI.

Open-air meetings every Friday at 8.15 p.m. in Kings Square, Barry. Also in Llandaff Fields, Cardiff at 8 p.m. on Sundays.

Open-air meetings are now held on Tooting Bec Common every Sunday at 7 p.m., as well as on Clapham Common (3 p.m.) and Streatham Common (6.30 p.m.). Arranged between Streatham, Battersea and Wandsworth groups.

**PPU open-air meetings every Sunday** at 8 p.m. on Whitfields Mount, Blackheath, near Cricket Pitch.

**Hull.**—Open-air meetings every Wednesday, 9 p.m., at West Park Gates.

## PEACE NEWS Sellers Wanted

**Leeds.**—Every Saturday afternoon. Also house-to-house selling at any convenient time. Write J. Michael Rosenblum, 4, Grange Terrace, Chapel-tow, Leeds, 7.

**Bexley Heath.**—At Clock Tower every Friday, at 7 p.m. Write to Donald Port, 143 Singlewell Road, Gravesend.

**Letchworth.**—Volunteers for street selling wanted on Saturdays between 3 and 5 p.m. and 5 and 7 p.m. Also on Sundays outside churches. Please give details and times to J. Yardley, 49 William Way, Letchworth.

**Bristol.**—Every Saturday between 2.30 p.m. and 5 p.m. Write John Bamford, 24 Bromley Road, Horfield, Bristol, 7.

**Blackheath.**—Outside Roxy Cinema from 5 p.m. on Saturdays.

**Harborne.**—Every Friday and Saturday. Write S. G. White, 46, Wheats Avenue, Harborne, Birmingham.

**Cambridge.**—Write to Austin Davies, 28 Malcolm Street, Cambridge.

**Tunbridge Wells.**—Write to Maurice Cransby, 4 Mount Ephraim, Tunbridge Wells.

**Nottingham.**—Fridays and Mondays. Meet Friar Lane, 7 p.m. Do not leave it to a few.

## Poster Parade.

Ladies please note. All-women poster parade on September 17, at 6.45 p.m. from 96 Regent Street, W.1.

## Miscellaneous

**PPU members** on holiday or resident in Leven district and willing to help in propaganda work, please write to Miss M. Simpson, "The Square," Kennoway, Fife.

Those visiting Ayrshire district please inform Miss Jean Brock, 54, Barassie Street, Troon (tel. 634), or Mrs. Sybil White, 71 London Road, Kilmarnock.

Miss Kathleen Hoskin, 2 Quintel Road, Newquay, Cornwall, would be glad to hear from pacifists intending to visit Newquay and district during the summer months, more especially those willing to take part in meetings and demonstrations.

There is now a service for the supply of literature at 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4. Orders received by noon on any day can be ready for collection at the above address after noon on the day following. The object is to save postage for people who cannot collect their supplies from Regent Street, but can do so from here.

## By John Barclay

## HOLIDAYS AND AFTER

We must have a group of pacifist pioneers in every town and village as soon as possible. The map in the office must be painted red!

During the last two weeks we have been camping in the vicinity of a youth hostel and almost the first person I spoke to on the night of our arrival was a member of the PPU—and on the last night but one we talked in our tent with the energetic secretary of the Reading region. Between these two meetings I met members from all parts of Wales and many from England as well as one from Scotland.

All were filled with the spirit of cheerful determination to press on and spoke of fresh plans for the future.

Energy and sacrifice were keywords in their talk.

We all agreed on the necessity of starting more Dick Sheppard centres. The difficulties met with are many but the one of finding furniture and fittings is often the

first because of the cost. I have formed a plan after discussing this point last week at Wrexham where the local group have taken a house to be opened on November 11.

I am willing to act as agent for Dick Sheppard centres and in this capacity will collect the furniture to send to all parts of the country as needed.

Have you a table you can spare? Wrexham needs one, also chairs and a filing cabinet. Let me have a postcard saying what you can offer, and I will direct you to the centre which wants it.

Perhaps you have a chair, a rug, or an odd length of stair carpet now discarded—let me know at once and something will be furnished.

Energy and sacrifice—and for every ounce you give I will add another. Our job is never-ending and our needs will go on increasing.

Here is something we can all help with at once and new centres will soon spring up.



## UP THE GARDEN PATH

By  
BESOM

WHILE in many parts of the world the cannon thunder and illusions and folly abound, it would be a crime "not to prepare," Mussolini said the other day, according to a "news" item.

I know this is the other side of the record which is such a favourite with our own government, but will someone ask the Duce whose cannon are making such a noise already?

### HIS RED PAST

An edict has gone to every public library in Italy that all files of Mussolini's newspaper, *Popolo d'Italia* for 1919-1922 shall be kept under lock and key, and not lent to anyone.—*Sunday Referee*.

### LIMERICK DEPARTMENT

When Johnny took up A.R.P.  
And tried to snuff out T.N.T.  
With his bucket and shov'  
He just went up above  
To play on his H.A.R.P.

### HERR MACGREGGOR

A popular souvenir at the Glasgow Exhibition (says a newspaper) is a Scotch doll called "Wee MacGreegor."

The Exhibition is to call the attention of the world to the Empire.

The doll is marked on the back, "Made in Germany."

### MAKING ALLOWANCES

Four-year-old who has been rebuked a little testily: My poor mummy; you're very tired.

### THE LAW

They hang you if you kill,  
So it's safer if you don't;  
But in a war  
They change the law  
And jail you if you won't.

### BRITISH TYPE NUMBER ONE

The first type is of powerful, yet slim, agile build; his complexion is reddish and glowing. His gait is springy, poised on the ball of the foot. There is a gleam in his eye. He belongs to every strata of society, but he is typical of the British race. He is found especially in large numbers among industrial and rural workers, in the ranks of the older aristocracy not tainted with alien affiliations, and in the Services.

He is energetic and purposeful in work and leisure. He seeks rather to be creative than merely passing his time...has a sense of countryside and is appreciative of the gifts of nature. He possesses a fine regard for family life and is conscious of the traditional and inherited qualities of his race. His eye, directed by instinct and reason, perceives fine form and harmonious colour. His ear is appreciative of melody, of grand and sweet musical sound.

He is self-disciplined, moderate in food and drink. He is incapable of underhand motives, is straightforward in word and deed, ready in service and sacrifice. He radiates friendship and good will but is not a prude. He is ready always to play his part fully with his comrades, and is utterly human: a good fellow, but neither a braggart nor a buffoon. Courteous and kind, but uncompromising with evil. Firm in decision, a man from whom something seems to radiate, physically and mentally, toward his fellow men.—Lieut.-Col. Graham Seton Hutchinson in *Journal of the Army Physical Training Staff*.

### WAGGISH

It must have been a very gory little scrap, and the Gurkhas won it. The odds against them were 40 to 8, and it is easy to imagine how the little men licked their chops after it. That sort of thing was just their weather, and the humour of it, I am sure, appeal to them, knowing what merry little souls they are.—From an account of fighting on the North-West Frontier in *The Tatler*.

### WHEN PEACE BREAKS OUT

"At the moment," I read in *Riding*, "the future of Shanghai does not look particularly bright, and whatever the outcome of the Sino-Japanese struggle it must be a long time before the social, to say nothing of the commercial, life of the port can recover. But if peace ever comes again, it is sure that the hunt will be one of the first activities of the European community to be put on its feet again."

### RAVISHING'S THE WORD

He is not tall, he is a little heavy, his body is timid. Ah! His glance is unforgettable, like that of all rare beings. A troubled and trembling glance full of sweetness: the man is delicious and mysterious. His forehead is beautiful... with feminine sensitiveness and delicate features. In the smile of this warrior one sees a woman's soul and a child's heart. The ravishing thing about Franco is his purity.

—René Benjamin in *Candide*.

## Peradventures of "Peace News"—No. 2



The raw recruit who recommended *PEACE NEWS* to the sergeant major.

Drawn by E. E. BRISCOE.

## Letter from the Editor

17 Featherstone Buildings,  
London, W.C.1

THE sermon by the REV. DAVID MACE on "A.R.P. and the Christian"—extracts from which we print on page 6 this week was delivered in response to a definite request for guidance from many people in the congregation.

"I suggested to my congregation," Mr. MACE writes to me, "that during the summer Sunday evenings I would give them the opportunity of selecting the subject for the sermon. I invited them to send in requests."

"The result was that I was inundated with all kinds of subjects, but one of the outstanding ones was this question of ARP, on which the people obviously wanted some guidance."

### Result of Careful Thought

THE address, however, was not the result of preconceived notions. Faced with the request from his congregation, he read everything he could lay hold of on the subject, and then sat down to think over the whole issue for myself.

The sermon he preached was the result. As might be expected from its outspoken nature, it has aroused considerable interest, and it is reported that Mr. MACE has been inundated with letters of approbation.

### Penalized for Pacifism

IT is encouraging to find such interest, but we must remember that in some places the expression of pacifist convictions does not always bring immediate support.

Some weeks ago I mentioned the case of the REV. J. S. RYMER, of Hull, who was looking for another sphere of work, "preferably an independent one," because his pacifism—which he refused to hide under a bushel—had led to an awkward situation. Now I see that the strong peace views of the REV. G. C. HOLLAND, of St. Mary the Virgin, Ewell, have led to a split in the congregation, with consequent financial difficulties.

Last year Mr Holland launched an attack on military tattoos, likening them

to "whited sepulchres" which "present war under the aspect of a glorious adventure instead of showing it as it is, a filthy bestial shambles."

"St. Franco's destruction of Guernica is what war will be like," he added, "not the crash of military bands and the singing of *Abide With Me* as the final blasphemy of the tattoo."

### Conversation Piece

A CORRESPONDENT sends me the following record of a conversation overheard in a provincial town:

Lady (approaching seller of *PEACE NEWS*): Now what are you selling those papers for?

Seller: Oh, just trying to do a bit to spread the peace idea.

Lady: Peace at any price, I suppose?

Seller (hastily): Oh no! Love at all costs. Dick Sheppard used to say that, "Not peace at any price but love at all costs."

Lady: Too good for this world, that is; won't work.

Seller: But it's the Gospel way.

Lady: So it is, but the Gospel is quite impractical.

Seller: I thought you were a Christian.

Lady: Oh yes, I am, but it's quite useless trying to put Christianity into practice in a national sense.

Seller: Then you don't believe the Christian way is a workable proposition?

Lady: No, I don't! What we want are guns and more guns; to be armed up to the teeth...

Listener-in wanders off in the direction of Church Street.

## SENT BY A READER



This photograph of Wingfield Manor was taken by a London reader on holiday in Derbyshire. Mary, Queen of Scots was once imprisoned in the manor.

(Let *PEACE NEWS* see your interesting pictures, too.)

## At Last— A PEACE SONG to the tune of "Tipperary"

Have you ever thought about the problems of the day?  
Killing other fellows' kids will never really pay.

Perhaps it's never struck you that there is another way.

If it hasn't, lend an ear to what we have to say.

Refrain: *It's a long way to Peace and Plenty,*

*It's a long way, we know.*

*It's a long way by Pacifism,*

*But the only way to go.*

*Goodbye Ease and Comfort,*

*Farewell Deep Armchair—*

*It's a long, long way to Peace*

*and Plenty.*

*But we'll lead you there.*

Things you're asked to do in war in civil

life are sin,

For all your moral values it doesn't care

a pin,

If you've any doubt of that why don't you

begin

To try to cut your neighbour's throat,

you'll quickly be run in.

Refrain: *It's a long way*

If Jack Jones rapes your wife or sister,

what are you to do?

Must you slaughter Jack himself and all

the Joneses too?

The Telephone Directory will show there's

quite a few.

We really think you've bitten off much

more than you can chew.

Refrain:

Sammy Hoare will tell you, you must take

up ARP

To guard yourselves from wicked men

who live across the sea.

But even if they're shirty, yet we think

you will agree

They're mostly decent fellows much the

same as you and me.

Refrain:

Now you've come with us so far, what

must you do next?

Investigate the reason why the other

fellow's vexed.

And if you really want to try to live up

to this text,

Sign Dick Sheppard's Peace Pledge, since

you've seen through war's pretext.

Refrain:

Charles H. Davies and Kenneth A. Lee.

## Twenty-One Years Ago

From the *New Crusader*,

August 31, 1917

It seems as though Mr. Lloyd George has searched the whole world for the exact phrase which would develop that very spirit in Germany which he says he is out to destroy.

Germany says to her unfortunate people, "Great Britain wants to crush you—therefore—"

The German moderate party earnestly contend that this is not true—and then—they are shattered—not by their own Government, but by wire from Great Britain.

"The Prime Minister said there was to have been this year a great converging movement against our foes. The nippers were beginning to grip, but 'one claw is out of repair for the moment, and, therefore, we had not the converging pressure we had anticipated.' Finally, Mr. Lloyd George asked for patience, courage, endurance, and unity, and declared that next year we should begin, and the world would begin, to reap fruit of our valour."



# Dear Sir . . .

## PACIFIST PUBLICITY METHODS

A. W. B. WEBB spoils an excellent letter (PEACE NEWS, August 13) when he tells us just what a poster parade should be like.

I shall take his five points in order. Paraders should be (a) not too old; (b) not too odd; (c) not too predominantly female; (d) not too self-conscious; (e) not too aggressively cheerful.

(a) Age is a matter of mind and spirit. A man of sixty may be essentially younger than a bored youth of twenty. Anyway, it would rule out George Lansbury, wouldn't it?

(b) Who is to be judge of this?

(c) Is there anything against a poster parade composed exclusively of women? We suffer from war equally with men. Moreover, it is not of our contriving, so that we have the best of right to protest against its iniquitous wastefulness. The world at present suffers from an overbalance of masculine control. It is time we woke up and challenged it, as we could do most effectively if we were so minded.

(d) Not too self-conscious. Who are the self-conscious? Women are not much given to it.

(e) Not too aggressively cheerful. Can this be true of anyone who honestly sets out to combat the insanity of war preparation?

Aren't we too much concerned with what other people think, and shall we be really effective until we cease to be so? This matter of outlawing war is too big a thing to be circumscribed by the most well-meant of "don'ts."

The Peace Pledge Union stands for world justice, which is world righteousness, nothing less.

It is in essence a religious movement, calling to the depths in every agnostic, and in this great concept there must needs be room for every quality, every gift of every individual.

When we have ceased from our self-consciousness and move forward as one toward our objective, we shall command the respect and cooperation of many who now stand outside our movement.

ELEANOR WATSON.

115, Beverley Road, Hull.

The correspondence relating to "A's" letter and to Mr. Arthur Wragg's article appear to be converging.

Isn't it perhaps early to be paying so much attention to purity of motive? 120,000 identical immaculates would be an interesting museum exhibit, but 1,200,000 pacifist converts could make history. The pacifist movement desperately needs publicity, and if the indulgence of self-gratification is involved in the otherwise unpleasant job of poster parading, why worry?

Resentment aroused in poster parade spectators may be helpful rather than damaging. I believe that the ridiculousness of the masochistic clown (e.g. Charlie Chaplin, Eddie Cantor, or our bedraggled funnies) has brought about more sympathetic understanding among human beings than *The Passing of the Third Floor Back*, *Little Women*, or *The Story of a Short Life*.

Surely the Peace Pledge Union is an association of human beings capable of feeling, arousing or tolerating vanity, resentment, aggressiveness, absurdity, and indignation, and not a choir of angels or cunuchs.

JOAN DEMPSTER.

60, Warwick Avenue, Edgware, Middlesex.

I believe R. V. Sturgess and E. G. Walden are right re Aggressive Pacifism (PEACE NEWS, August 20). There is too much casuistry with us. Doubt and introspection are useful as a periodical audit, but should not develop into a full-time job.

There is one lesson we can learn from our opponents, the war mongers, that is, full-time energy for desired ends. We see this in pernicious progress from Japan to the English recruiting campaign. Pacifists know this to be wrong. Let us tell the world with the full force of our convictions.

R. K. POLLARD.

10, Lonsdale Road, S.W.13.

## PACIFISM AND THE CLASS WAR

MAY I use your columns to comment on Caecilia E. M. Pugh's article (PEACE NEWS, August 13) suggesting that the appeal of the pacifist in relation to the class struggle should be to the owners rather than to the workers?

Though I would be the last person to discourage Miss Pugh, I think that she is rather optimistic concerning the power of a disinterested appeal to the "divine spark" in those who have been placed in economically parasitic positions. Perhaps Miss Pugh possesses more of that "faith" which "G.D." (PEACE NEWS, July 30) says, with some justice, that I lack.

So, while in no way wishing to obstruct Miss Pugh's proposed campaign, I continue to urge that the pacifist's task is to permeate with his method that "side," if I may use the expression, in the struggle, whose "victory" would make possible the establishment of a juster economic system.

Again I must emphasize that if we do not do this the war will be fought out by the old, bad methods, and our task will begin all over again. In addition, the workers have already used the strike, an essentially non-violent weapon, and thus the pacifist appeal is for the extension of a method already understood and used, rather than the introduction of an entirely new factor into social struggle.

By way of analogy, I suggest that had the Indian nationalists, in the early days of their fight for freedom, concentrated their energies in sending letters to Westminster pointing out the justice of their case, they would not have progressed as far as they have by the method of establishing a strong positive movement, well schooled in non-violence.

Let Miss Pugh appeal to the better nature of capitalists. But some of us must continue to seek for the best way of removing the system which is the cause of the capitalist being a capitalist, and not a man on an equal status with those he now has to employ. To do this we must introduce the worker not to "faith" (he has to have enough faith now to keep alive), but to a new method of pursuing his centuries-old problems of obtaining for the people the sources of the people's necessities.

CECIL DAVIES.

2, Greenbank, Penzance, Cornwall.

## COMMUNITY

May I venture to suggest two practical ways in which readers of PEACE NEWS can help the scheme advocated by A. M. Redding in your issue of August 20.

First, as producers, tell me whether they are prepared to accept our Barter Notes in "payment" for any goods they are in a position to supply, stating their price and nature, and any limit to the amount of notes they can at present accept.

Second, as consumers assist in the circulation of Barter Notes. If those to whom this suggestion appeals, and who have not yet received any notes will kindly apply to me, I will gladly tell them how to obtain them.

Barter Notes are issued in three denominations, 1s., 2s. 6d., and 5s., and are redeemable only in goods. Every time a Barter Note passes from one person to another, it acts as a messenger of a vital thought which should aid in the creation of the peaceful order of society. Tacitly offering one's subscription to charitable and other societies by means of a Barter Note has been found useful.

Those who are able and willing to use this method need have little fear that the notes will be useless to them. For, as friend Redding hints, the vast range of Cooperative Wholesale Society productions is behind these notes.

It is true that the CWS is not yet on the list of those who have signified their willingness to accept Barter Notes in "payment" for goods supplied. But the Brotherhood Trust Extension Society Limited, which issues the notes in accordance with its rules registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts, is a member of the CWS and procures its manufactures.

Naturally the BTES accepts these notes in "payment" for any goods it supplies.

It should be noted that the Cooperative Brotherhood Trust Limited ceased to exist as a separate organization in 1920. But its daughter society, the Brotherhood Trust Extension Society Limited, created in 1907, still exists and has the machinery ready to assist in the exchange of the produce of communities and other producers.

Many pacifists desire to assist practically, both as producers and consumers, in laying the foundations of society on the sound basis of production for use. Is not this scheme one of the many methods to help in the creation of true and lasting peace?

J. THEODORE HARRIS.  
Secretary, Brotherhood Trust  
Extension Society Limited,  
and Production for Use  
League.

9 Queensdown Road, London, E.5.

## Minorities

MAY I, as one who once belonged to an "oppressed minority," who lived under the "despotism" of the late Emperor Francis Joseph, and who suffered under the "tyrannical yoke" of Austrian rule, say a few words about minorities under foreign domination?

I learned a great lesson from the last war, namely that all this talk about tyranny and oppression is nonsense, all an artificial feeling worked up by a few fanatics, and that if some individuals get harsh treatment they well deserve it.

My brother was in prison in Austria for a week once, my father for over a month. We were restricted, yes; but only where and when our hostile attitude and our actions threatened the peace of the country. We could have lived quite contentedly if we had not inherited from one generation to another a deep hatred for the Austrians and a prejudice against their rule. And our "brothers" in Italy did a great deal to foment it.

Mr. Nagy Ivan, in his article about the minorities in Czechoslovakia, writes about starvation among the Sudeten Germans. The Czech Government is as little, or as much, responsible for it as the British Government is for poverty and unemployment in some parts of this country. If the poverty touches more the districts inhabited by the Sudetens, it is, I think, because the once flourishing industries on which they live depend chiefly on export for their markets, and the present restrictions and tariff walls have struck them hard.

As regards the Hungarians in Czechoslovakia, on investigation we might find that the peasants who were given the land of the dispossessed owners are quite content, if left alone, and better off than they were under Hungary before the War, and enjoy more freedom than the Hungarian peasants do under the landowners at present.

I cannot be moved by all these tales of poverty and oppression, and I feel that our duty as pacifists does not lie in sympathizing with the discontented minorities, but rather in trying to lift these people up spiritually above the petty political competitions, and making them realize that the source of their happiness is within each one of them, and that, if only they tried to understand, they could live in peace and gain for their children more material advantages and more freedom as well.

When Christ was preaching to the Jews in Palestine these were under the alien rule of the Romans, which they also found oppressive. Did Christ go about talking of their rights, of the injustices under which they lived? No, he lifted them up spiritually, so that they could be happy in spite of them.

This is the secret of Jesus, this is the secret that we must try to make our suffering fellowmen understand. We must put an end to war; we must stop murdering one another; we must stop doing evil; we must seek the kingdom of God and his justice, and the rest—peace, freedom, wellbeing—will be given to us.

Dick Sheppard knew it and that is why he only asked us to renounce war.

(Mrs.) A. G. NASH.

46 Lowman Road, N.7.

## "SERIOUSLY CONFUSED"

In your issue of August 13 you published a criticism by Mr. Russell Bentley of an article which I had written for PEACE NEWS, "An Ideological Cow and the Brotherhood of Man." Mr. Bentley amused himself by saying that I was "an amiable Rugbyman" who would never be taken very seriously by the working-class and, though an "able youth," "seriously confused."

I can only reply rudely that Mr. Bentley is not always amiable, and that from two years' experience of working with him I am not sure that he is taken seriously by anyone at all; though I am told that his performance as Sir Toby Belch in the OUDS was admirable.

The article which I wrote was a bourgeois article written for a bourgeois paper with bourgeois readers and I love them all, even the vegetarians and the mixed knitters.

Of course I am seriously confused: naturally, even rightly, at an unripe age. But may I recommend that Mr. Bentley, if he wishes to achieve the academic success which we all wish him, should murmur to himself each morning as he ties his own proletarian tie, "I may be wrong, I may be Wrong, I may be WRONG!"

RICHARD SYMONDS.

Union Society, Oxford.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

## A Pacifist in Czechoslovakia

MISS JAMESON might have pointed out to her Czech friend (PEACE NEWS, August 20) that although Nazi mentality may be a factor in producing war, it was war and its aftermath that produced the Nazis. The school of military thought that glorifies war is no novelty in the world (though naturally it is less prominent in the satisfied States), but surely this Czech ex-pacifist was in error in attributing to the leaders in Germany the doctrine of war as a religion. Hitler never fails to impress upon his hearers the evils of war, and the attitude of official Germany is "We want peace but not at any price"—the same catchphrase used by all governments. The price of a durable peace is equity and truth, both of which are automatically submerged by war.

Further Miss Jameson should have reminded this prospective fighter that there are in Germany millions whose detestation of Nazi methods is as keen as his own, probably keener as they are the actual victims. If he takes a bomb or a bayonet to fight "Germany," there is hardly any likelihood of his reaching Herren Hitler, Göring, Goebbels, Rosenberg and company, but there is a very fair chance of injuring innocent fellow-beings. War elements and peace elements exist both in Germany and in Czechoslovakia, and if he is prepared to slaughter indiscriminately, he may as well begin at home.

JOHN NIBB

BM/JONIB. W.C.1.

Storm Jameson's Czech friend admits that war is evil—the evil of the world—and he surely realizes that the Nazis whom he fears are a consequence of the evil of the last war.

If this is so, and if he realizes that the next war, should it come, will be far more terrible than the last, he must agree that the evil consequences will be far greater than the present Nazi regime.

If the case of the Czech friend was really an argument against pacifism that argument would be much stronger after another war, but the task of overcoming evil, by means other than in terms of war, would still remain and would have become the more necessary.

The facts are simple. You cannot do evil things without evil consequences. You cannot wage war without evil consequences as we know only too well today. But, to a person who honestly wishes to work for civilization, the more evil the consequences the stronger the reason for refusing to support the cause.

One of the worst results of war is the fact that it causes many men, like the Czech friend, to lose their ideals for what is really the strongest reason in support of them.

DON LEANEY.

115, Palace Road, S.W.2.

I read with sympathetic interest Storm Jameson's article in PEACE NEWS, August 20.

I think the answer to her question, "What should I have said?" is to be found on the next page of PEACE NEWS in the words "Non-violent resistance" and "a great readiness to suffer." These should be commended to her Czech friends.

A servant of God may be killed, or imprisoned, or persecuted, but he cannot be enslaved. His service is perfect freedom even when it consists in work for "the unthankful and the evil."

It is preferable to suffer, even as the Jews under Hitler and Nazi rule, than to cause suffering. Non-violent resistance to what is wrong in Nazi teaching—or anything else—is the only defence against it.

E. M. L.

I should like to congratulate PEACE NEWS on the capital series of articles on the problems of Central Europe. That is the sort of thing we want.

In her article "A Pacifist in Czechoslovakia," Storm Jameson tells us about her talk with a young Czech (or pro-Czech Slovak) pacifist, who said he could not act now as a pacifist because he must defend his country against the Nazi menace. She asks rather pathetically, "What should I have said?"

May I suggest one or two points she might have made?

1. If the Czechs believe so passionately, as her friend said they did, in freedom, what are they doing ruling, by force, over millions of Hungarians, Germans, and others who detest the Czech rule and long to liberate themselves from it? On page 2 of the same issue of PEACE NEWS, Nagy Iván says that the Hungarians are "in prison" in Czechoslovakia.

2. Is there any evidence that Nazi Germany has any designs whatever against the freedom of the Czechs, as distinct from its natural interest in the German minority? I should imagine Germany would be satisfied completely if the



## Letters

(continued from column 4, page 13)

Czechs were to cease their tyranny over the German minority and agree to a plebiscite.

3. If the Czechs are so high-minded and liberty-loving as all that, they might begin by fulfilling their own promises, contained in the treaty which founded their State, to give equal rights to minorities after the Swiss style—a vastly different thing from a half-hearted attempt to conciliate them, which is all we have seen up to the present.

These are comments which, if I had been in the authoress's place, I should have felt inclined to make.

MEYRICK BOOTH.

## PRODUCTION FOR PROFIT

From the large number of letters received about the International League of Goodwill I gather, to my surprise, that many pacifists are still in favour of "production for profit."

A good many people are so uneducated that they write to me mentioning the black race, white race, Jewish race, and the yellow race (whatever they may be). All the findings of science go to prove that there is only one race—the HUMAN race. All Europeans came originally from the East, and colour, such as black and white, are due to climatic conditions. Colour prejudice is due to ignorance and imperialism.

The Jews are a religious sect, just like the Christians and Moslems. It is utter stupidity to call the Jewish people a separate race. You might as well talk of the Christian race.

Production for profit is definitely immoral. The profit motive is anti-social. Pacifists who are opposed to a new social order are really not opposed to war, because the basic cause of war is economic.

The early Christians had ideas of a universal society and even a world economy (see *Esebius Chrysostom*, &c.).

Knowing these things, and looking forward with our feet on earth and our heads in heaven, let us strive diligently for the oneness of the world of humanity.

JOHN O'DONNELL.

International League of Goodwill.  
23, Barnes Crescent, Ensbury Park,  
Bournemouth.

## PUTTING PROGRESS LAST

A correspondent writes:—

A news paragraph appearing in the *Daily Telegraph* recently reported that the proposal for the setting up of an Institute for the Scientific Investigation of Crime has had to be abandoned on account of the expense, because help hoped for from the Government is not to be forthcoming.

Lord Trenchard was reported to have emphasized that the projected institute was a matter of pressing public importance and to have said that "there was hardly a capital in Europe which did not possess such an institution" (our italics).

So England is to resign herself to being behind the rest of the world in culture and humanitarianism so that we may build our bombers!

It would (our correspondent adds) answer the "yes-buts," who ask us if it is not a logical outcome of pacifism for us to leave our doors and windows unbolted and our houses at the disposal of the burglars, to point out to them this method of understanding and adequately dealing with our burglars which has now to be indefinitely postponed owing to the mandate, or at any rate the tacit consent, given to the Government by the people to spend every penny of the Exchequer on war preparations.

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## POINTS for the PLATFORM

### With American Aid

**E**VEN the direct responsibility for air raids in China does not rest wholly with Japan. The USA is supplying Japan, for use in her war against China, with:

60.5% of her imports in oil;  
41% of her imports in pig iron;  
59.7% of her imports in other kinds of iron;  
92.9% of her imports in copper;  
20% of her imports in zinc;  
91.2% of her imports in automobiles and automobile parts;  
48.5% of her imports in machinery of all kinds.

In 1937, the United States furnished, in money, 54.4 percent of the Japanese bill for war materials.

These figures are taken from the speech of James P. Pope, of Idaho, delivered in the U.S. Senate on June 8, 1938.

### "What We Have . . ."

**W**E have got our mandate in New Guinea (once a German colony). On this rock we build our church, and all hell is not going to take away what we have. What we have we hold.—W. M. Hughes, former Australian Premier.

### Italian Anti-Semitism

**I**N "Public Affairs Commentary" on August 6 we reproduced the words of Mussolini six years ago, declaring that race was "a feeling, not a reality," and that "anti-semitism does not exist in Italy."

Recently the *Manchester Guardian* produced evidence of a more recent absence of anti-semitism from Italian policy, in the form of a picture of Mussolini in the Palestine Pavilion of the Levant Exhibition held at Bari in 1934. An Italian inscription on the wall reads: "Thanks to the Zionist renaissance there rises in Palestine a strong and healthy generation of Jews."

### No New Idea

**N**ATIONS, like men, will revenge themselves for small injuries, but cannot do so for great ones. The injury that we do a nation must therefore be such that we need not fear its revenge.  
—Machiavelli (in 1520.)

### Refugees and Unemployment

**T**HE conclusion that "ultimately a nation is almost bound to be richer if the productive power of a large additional number of persons is added to its own" was reached by Douglas Jay, City Editor of the *Daily Herald*, on August 8. Following are points from the article:

And since almost all governments seem alarmed at the prospect of a falling population it is perhaps also odd that the democratic countries are so reluctant to admit refugees.

Every refugee is a consumer as well as a producer. You may say that unless he brings money he has no spending power, and cannot therefore consume.

But this is not necessarily so. Refugees are, in fact, not allowed to starve; and whether they are maintained out of savings, charity or relief, they probably increase the nation's internal spending, and so in times of depression are a factor making for lower unemployment. . . . on balance there is no evidence suggesting that more refugees usually mean more unemployment.

In particular trades this may, of course, be so, if there is no increase in the demand for services as a whole. But in such skilled trades as medicine, the law, &c., the refugee may well offer a particular form of service not generally available, and so expand the general demand. In that case nobody loses a job at all.

### Paying for War

**A**LTHOUGH it did not advocate attacking the evil at its root—the building up of armaments at all—a leading article in *Reynolds's News* urged the democratic movement to "return an emphatic 'No!'" to the Government's contemplated economy drive, designed to "maintain and expand expenditure on armaments while safeguarding the super-tax payer's pocket." The article declared:

Of every 20s. of national expenditure, 12s. 2d. is devoted to payments for past and future wars. That part of the nation's Budget is not to be cut.

Of every 20s. of national expenditure, 6s. 5d. is devoted to social services, including education, old age and widows' pensions, State contributions to local government, unemployment insurance, roads, housing and health, and the maintenance of the police. The axe is to be laid to this part of the nation's Budget.

What the Government contemplates is an attack on mass purchasing power.

A combination of firms constituting one important industry engaged in the rearmament programme, according to the report of the Select Committee on Estimates, have refused facilities for checking their prices for the obvious reason that they want to hide the amount of their profits. The share values of aircraft firms soar to fantastic heights. Everywhere there are signs that a small favoured class is growing wealthy at the expense of the community. Yet the development of social amenities, too long retarded, is to be delayed further and the evils of malnutrition are to be widened and deepened.

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## DIARY OF THE WEEK

### August

27 (Sat.) **HORNSEY**; 3 p.m. Y.M.C.A., Tottenham Lane; week for poster parade; PPU.  
**NEWTON ABBOT**; 3.30 p.m. People's Service Centre; regional committee; PPU.  
**CROYDON**; 7.30 p.m. Katherine Street; open-air meeting; Frank Regan and Sybil Morrison; PPU.  
**NEWTON ABBOT**; 7.30 p.m. Market Square; open-air meeting; R. Sandford and others; PPU.

28 (Sun.) **CATERHAM**; 10 a.m. Davis Theatre; meet for ramble; PPU.  
**FINSEBURY PARK**; 11 a.m. and 6.30 p.m. Spouters' Corner; open-air meeting; PPU publicity van.  
29 (Mon.) **HORNSEY**; 7.30 p.m. High Street; open-air meeting; PPU publicity van.  
30 (Tues.) **MUSWELL HILL**; 7.30 p.m. Prince's Avenue; open-air meeting; PPU publicity van.  
**FALLOWFIELD**; 7.45 p.m. Ladyburn Park; open-air meeting; Rev. Stanley Mossop; PPU.  
31 (Wed.) **LONDON, N.W.1**; 8 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Harry T. Silcock on "China"; Maj.-Gen. Sir Neill Malcolm (chairman); Far East Emergency Committee of the Society of Friends.

### September

1 (Thurs.) **LONDON, E.C.4**; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Preston Benson on "The Czech-German Situation"; City PPU group.  
**LONDON, E.C.4**; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Miss Jane Burgham on "A Woman's Point of View"; City PPU group.  
**KETTERING**; 7.30 p.m. Toller Lecture Room, Meeting Lane; Roy Walker; PPU.  
**BALHAM & TOOTING**; 8 p.m. Granville Hall, Balvernie Grove, Merton Road; John Barclay; PPU.  
3 (Sat.) **UXBRIDGE**; 8 p.m. (opposite War Memorial); open-air meeting; PPU.

### COMING SHORTLY

### September

17-18 (Sat.-Sun.) **NORTHAMPTON**; 3 p.m.-10 p.m. and 2.30 p.m.-9 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Wellington Street; conference on "Civilization and Pacifism"; speaker, John P. Fletcher; PPU, Northampton and district groups.

23-25 (Fri.-Sun.) **GLASGOW**; McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street; Peace and Empire Congress; particulars from organizing secretary (Mrs. Helen Crawford), 79, West Regent Street, Glasgow, C.2.

27 (Tues.) **DARTFORD**; 8 p.m. Presbyterian Church, Watling Street; Lord Arnold, Rev. A. Herbert Gray and Cr. Mrs. Welch (chairman); PPU and For.

## PEACE BOOK CLUB

During the past three months a number of groups of the Peace Pledge Union have become group members of the Peace Book Club. By so doing they are building up a Peace Library of their own for an almost nominal outlay each month. At the same time, in the monthly *Peace Book Choice*, supplied by the club, they have opportunities for study and discussion.

Among the approximately 800 Peace Pledge Union groups, there must still be many who would welcome the facilities provided by the club if they knew of them. The books supplied cost in the ordinary way from 5s. to 10s. 6d. each, but members obtain them for 2s. 6d. plus book postage. Group members receive an additional concession.

Full particulars from 5 Goodwin's Court, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.2.

### HEALTH AND MEDICAL

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### LECTURES

**THE FUTILITY AND SUICIDAL POLICY OF WAR**; the above address given by Captain Butcher, Royal Societies Club, St. James's St., anytime, anywhere (10 miles radius) without fee or expenses.

### SERVICES

**AS PLANNED BY DICK SHEPPARD**. Celebrations of the Holy Communion take place in the Crypt of St. Paul's every Wednesday at 7.45 a.m., when prayers are offered for the renunciation of war and for those engaged in the peace movement.

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## Essential Points in the P.P.U. MANIFESTO

**T**HE Peace Pledge Union, founded by Dick Sheppard on the basis of the pledge: "We renounce war and will never support or sanction another," makes this appeal to all who seek peace within and between the nations:

The pledge to renounce war, involving as it does the refusal to allow governments to make use of the weapons of violence in support of foreign policy, leads inevitably to the necessity for a new foreign policy, based on economic appeasement and reconciliation.

The most pressing need is to take immediate steps which will lead ultimately to the establishment of a really serviceable League of Nations.

The new League must be based on provisions designed to meet the economic requirements of the large masses of poverty-stricken people to be found in varying degree among all nations of the earth. The satisfaction and security of each and every nation must be, and can be obtained in the well being of all.

Now is the time when every democrat should concentrate upon and call his government to confront the real and pressing economic needs of the people of the world.

The maintenance of imperial interest and economic advantage for ourselves literally means that we are living at the expense of the people of other countries. It also necessitates domination which makes peace impossible.

The Van Zeeland Report has been drawn up by a statesman appointed by the governments of Britain and France to consider the economic and political causes of friction in the world. M. Van Zeeland's conclusions should be investigated at once. They may be modified. He provided for that.

When the causes are faced, a solution which could both meet the needs of hungry nations, raise the standard of life and secure the rights of native peoples, will be found possible in other terms than those of war.

We urge that a new peace treaty should be drawn up, this time before another war begins, instead of after it, when hideous consequences must lead to increased hatred, increased revenge and renewed conflict—if indeed civilization survives.

Copies of the full Manifesto are obtainable from the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London. W.1.

## General Franco's Reply to the British Plan for Spain

### CRITICISMS AND COUNTER-PROPOSALS

*Following is a summary of the reply to the British Plan for Spain, handed by the Spanish rebel authorities to the British Agent at Burgos on Monday, for transmission to the Non-Intervention Committee.*

**T**HE Note proposes the withdrawal immediately, subject to guarantees, and "on the basis of the prior grant of belligerent rights," of 10,000 foreigners from either side.

"As an extraordinary concession" the authorities offer to respect the establishment of two safe ports (from aerial bombing) in the enemy zone, for foodstuffs only. They offer "their cooperation with the object of defining and limiting, so far as may be practicable, the conception of military objectives in relation to aerial bombardments, and to regulate this difficult problem with a view to causing the least possible damage both to the neutral nations and to the Spanish civilian population."

#### "IMPROVEMENTS"

The Note then goes on to suggest points which "would improve the plan."

It is argued that all the conditions now exist to justify the granting of full belligerent rights, and the criticism is made that the British plan offers such rights "to a diminished extent and on terms which render them wholly valueless." Consequently, the proposals are unacceptable.

As for the proposed proportional withdrawal of volunteers, the Note says this "presents difficulties which emasculate and sterilize the proposal." It is argued that the Commissions charged with counting the number of foreign volunteers on each side would find their task impossible on practical grounds (i.e., on the Government's side, alleged naturalization of foreigners, their distribution in different combatant units, lack of any distinguishing mark, possibility of distributing them among the civilian population in large cities, and impossibility of suspending hostilities for counting purposes in advanced positions).

The Note further alleges that the exclusion from the British plan of provisions for nationals of countries not represented on the Non-Intervention Committee "would result in approximately half of the foreign volunteers remaining in the enemy camp," and that "on our side all foreign volunteers would be withdrawn."

Consequently the authorities again suggest "the withdrawal by both parties of an equal number of foreign volunteers as the sole practicable procedure."

#### LAND, SEA, & AIR OBSERVATION

The Note expresses agreement with proposed measures for observation of land frontiers; the view is expressed that "proposed closing of the frontiers should be permanent and without any conditions which might limit it."

On the grounds of its inadequacy, maritime observation is opposed, and the counter-suggestion made that granting of full belligerent rights would solve the problem of sea control.

Air observation is also held to be im-

practicable, as "it is incompatible with the military situation through which Spain is passing."

The Note concludes by reserving the right to formulate other observations as to details of the plan, and, after a declaration of the aims of "National Spain," states that the latter "will never consent to the slightest mortgage on its soil, or on its economic life, and that it will defend at all times to the last handful its territory, its protectorates, and its colonies, if anyone dares to make an attempt against them."

## Case for Cooperation and Against Arms —in League Reports

The League Assembly concluded last September that it might be possible to remove some of the obstacles to international trade and to facilitate the removal of exchange controls. The Coordination Committee on Economic and Financial Questions has since been studying this question, and its report, which will be presented to the Assembly next month, has just been published. (Allen & Unwin, League of Nations Publications Dept., 6d.)

The report points out that "first, the political situation in Europe has in some respects become more difficult and, secondly, a recession in business has taken place which has been gradually spreading wider and wider."

The report adds that the Committee on Exchange Control decided "that all that could be done was to attempt to alleviate the situation of those countries which had been forced to maintain a system of exchange control, but which were anxious to find means of restoring their relationship to the free currencies and the system of international trade. (The progress made in this direction is dealt with in detail in a Report on Exchange Control, which has also just been published, price 1s.)

#### NEED FOR COOPERATION

Dealing with the prospects of revival of business, the Coordination Committee refers to the means employed by governments to revive business.

"Is it not possible," asks the report, "to find a means of harmonizing the policies of national revival with a greater measure of international cooperation?" The Assembly will have that question to consider when it meets.

Probably the most important matter dealt with in the report of the Economic Committee (6d.) is the inquiry into measures designed to raise the standard of living. This was carried out by Mr. N. F. Hall, and has been published separately (see Public Affairs Commentary).

#### EFFECT OF ARMS

The Report of the Financial Committee will also be before the Assembly next month; in part II (6d.) entitled "Some Observations on the General Situation," it utters the warning that "so long as the world lives in a state of continued tension and is thereby compelled to spend vast and non-reproductive sums on armaments, an interference with normal activities and a depression of the general economic well-being are inevitable consequences."

## NATIVES BARRED FROM OWN HEALTH SERVICES

### Why West Indies Commission Needs Coloured Spokesman

**"A** RECENT incident in Jamaica has proved that it is no spirit of merely carping criticism which has moved to protest those who have noticed the omission of any native West Indian of African descent from the personnel of the Royal Commission, as announced by the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

This claim is made in a statement to PEACE NEWS on behalf of the International African Service Bureau, which speaks for Africans and their kin throughout the world.

"Dr. O. E. Anderson, the black Mayor of Kingston, the capital of the colony," continues the statement, "has resigned his office after protesting against the colour discrimination in the government of the colony."

#### MAYOR'S PROTEST

"Observing in the *British Medical Journal* an advertisement for the post of medical officer to be filled in Jamaica, in which it was specified that the applicant must be of European descent, Dr. Anderson brought the matter to the attention of the City Council, and had his protest registered at the Colonial Office in London. The Colonial Office replied that this evidence of colour discrimination in appointments in the civil service was beyond its jurisdiction."

"Dr. Anderson knew of native West Indians qualified for the post, and that was the reason why he recorded his protest. However, pressure was brought to bear upon him for his stand, as could be expected in a colony where absentee vested interests and a small white oligarchy must maintain their rule at all costs. As a result Dr. Anderson's resignation was forced, and it must be viewed as the courageous act of one who objected to the mechanical earmarking of posts for Europeans."

#### AFRICANS' CLAIM

"The issue is clear. People of African descent have resided in the West Indies for at least 300 years. They claim this region as their own country, for their forefathers made it what it is by their lives and toil."

"To assert this fact is not preaching narrow nationalism, because we realize the culpability of nationalism for many of the gravest problems existing in the world today. But the facts must be faced."

"Obviously, West Indians have a claim to first consideration in appointments to jobs, especially those in the public health services at this time."

"The importance of this branch of the civil service will be appreciated when one considers the remarks of the late Governor of Trinidad, Sir Murchison Fletcher, on the widespread malnutrition in the West Indies, and even the Trinidad Commission, in its report, was found to acknowledge the existence of this evil."

"It is, therefore, imperative that natives who have first-hand knowledge of the situation be appointed to posts which require, above all, a sympathetic rather than merely official or perfunctory approach to the problem with which the office-holders will be confronted."

(continued from col. 3)

should decide for itself whether to recognize conquest of Abyssinia, has brought criticism from Opposition members in House of Representatives. Mr. Adam Hamilton, Opposition leader, said Mr. Jordan had expressed an opinion that might tend to force the British Government to do something that might result in war; he did not think that New Zealand wanted that attitude to be taken.

#### JAPAN AND THE LEAGUE

Japan will be represented on League Council and Assembly at the forthcoming session, but only for the purpose of taking part in the election to fill vacant post of judge in Permanent Court of International Justice.

#### SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

Establishment of a new division within the British Association to deal with social and international relations of science was agreed to by General Committee of the association last week.

#### FASCIST PAPER ATTACKS BRITAIN

A fascist daily paper published at Tunis has resumed its practice—dropped when Anglo-Italian Agreement was signed—of giving prominence to anti-British news.

#### VATICAN AND NATIONALISM

Following negotiations between the Vatican and the Italian State it was reported on Monday that a return will be made to the provisions of the agreement of September 1931, prescribing the part the Catholic Action Movement may play in the life of the State. According to Signor Gayda, this decision proves there is no conflict between Church and State over the racial problem.

That fascists had confused the claims of the Catholic Action Movement with the work of the Church itself seemed clear, however, when the Pope, in an address on Sunday designed to reach "Catholic missionaries throughout the world," again warned against exaggerated nationalism as a "real curse."

#### SCHUSCHNIGG FOR TRIAL

Von Schuschnigg, former ruler of Austria, will be among those to be tried under a new decree by a special court in Vienna. Judges of this court will be appointed by Hitler himself.

#### STRIKERS IN GUIANA

Latest evidence of labour unrest in British colonies were last week's disturbances in British Guiana, where almost martial law was introduced. Cause of the dispute was said to be notice to quit against six labourers.

#### JAMAICA GOVERNOR'S APPEAL

New Governor-General of Jamaica, Sir Arthur Richards, appealed last Friday for not mere words but deeds—land settlement, agricultural and industrial education, housing, health services, and also machinery for the progressive and peaceful settlement of various problems, including the relations between capital and labour.

#### GOVERNOR TO MEET TRIBESMEN

Governor of Kenya, Air Chief Marshal Sir Robert Brooke-Popham, last week met Wakamba tribesmen after seven weeks' protestation against seizure of their cattle by the Government.

Native Lands Trust Bill and Crown Lands Amendment Bill, effect of which will be further restriction of areas for native reserves, passed third reading in Kenya's Legislative Council last Friday.

#### FUTURE OF THE RHODESIAS

Rhodesia and Nyasaland Royal Commission concluded its work in the territories last week. Evidence showed that Europeans desired closer cooperation between two Rhodesias and Nyasaland; native witnesses, however, feared proposed changes.

#### INDIAN INDUSTRIES

As preliminary step toward appointment of expert committee to explore possibilities of all-India industrial plan, Congress Working Committee recently authorized Congress President to convene a conference of Ministers of Industries and call for a report on existing industries in different provinces, and needs and possibilities of new ones.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT IN MALAY

More than 20,000 men have been thrown idle in the Malay States since January. The Government, seriously perturbed, is endeavouring to employ these men on public works.

#### MEN WANTED

According to a report for last week by the New Zealand Labour Department there were 2,182 jobs available with only 2,080 men to fill them.

#### NEW ZEALAND PROTEST

New Zealand High Commissioner's (Mr. W. J. Jordan) statement at Geneva in May that his Government could not support British proposal that each Government



# PEACE NEWS

August 27, 1938

## Public Affairs Commentary (continued from page 1)

counteract these efforts.

Since Britain has taken over Turkey as her protégé, and France has taken over Bulgaria as hers, further action is now contemplated. A semi-official economic mission is about to visit Rumania to help her to "reduce her economic, and ultimately her political dependence upon any single country."

And moves made by her neighbours—forming the Little Entente—have now issued in the announcement of agreements with Hungary (their common "enemy") recognizing her right to rearm and renouncing the use of force between each other.

The failure of the Danubian Conference of 1932 is now showing itself in these serious economic rivalries. Dr. Funk, the German Minister of Economics, showed the menacing possibilities of the economic rivalry in the Danubian area in his speech at Königsberg.

He warned the Western Powers against any attempt to improve their position in Central and South-Eastern Europe by granting political credits to the countries in that region. Such credit, he said, neither made people happier nor improved business. The accusation that Germany was increasing her economic influence in certain countries left him unmoved, as did attempts to counteract that growing influence with gold and silver bullets.

These economic rivalries are a direct outcome of the policy of the closed door instituted in the British Empire by the Ottawa Conference.

### STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE PEOPLES

AT the next Assembly of the League of Nations, a discussion will take place on the problem of nutrition. The Economic Committee of the League has commissioned Professor N. F. Hall, of the National Institute of Economics and Social Research, to investigate possible measures, both national and international, for raising the standard of living of the peoples of the world. His report has now been published and it is worthy of the closest study.

The problem is one of the major moral problems of our age. With an ever growing capacity to produce the needs and requirements of a high standard of life, the vast majority of peoples still live in utter penury and want.

How real this problem is even in this country is shown by the report of the Shore-ditch Housing Association on conditions in that district of London. It shows conditions of incredible squalor, overcrowding, insanitation, lack of open spaces, ill health, and noise, and a poverty so extreme that a quarter of the boys and almost half the girls never go to the cinema. These conditions spring from sheer lack of purchasing power and they exist within a few minutes' walk of the greatest financial centre of the world.

Professor Hall in his report points out that:—

The totalitarian States are pledged to the improvement of the well being of their peoples. The communist régime claims that by its control over production and distribution the national well being of the people is being secured. The liberal democracies regard themselves as the trustees of the welfare of the many. The disputes arise only as to method.

He expresses a hope that, with such a large measure of agreement on aims, the different ideologies might find a neutral meeting ground, leaving the conflict over methods to the final arbitration of history.

Here is a line of approach to the peace problem which the League might well adopt as a substitute for its discredited collective security.

### THE POSITION IN FRANCE

M DALADIER has made it clear that the French Popular Front Government has been forced to give up its greatest social achievement, namely that of the universal forty-hour week. This is another instance of the political power of international finance which, through its "ready money" activities, can dictate the social policy of any country in which it is still free to operate.

Unlike the case of the British Labour Government in 1931, in France international finance has achieved its purpose without defeating the Government and without a technical case of currency

instability.

The surrender of the forty-hour week, with the consequent resignations of two Ministers, is bound to have a profound effect on French working-class opinion, which will be further roused by the latest non-intervention developments in Spain. That the two vacant positions were immediately filled seems to show the resignations were foreseen.

### GENERAL FRANCO'S REPLY

GENERAL FRANCO has now replied to the proposals of the Non-Intervention Committee made on July 6, and based upon the British plan for the withdrawal of the foreign troops on the two sides of the Spanish Civil War. The plan was clearly full of technical difficulties of application, and General Franco has taken full advantage of this in practically rejecting the whole scheme.

There can be no minimizing of the gravity of the new situation. It means not so much the ending of non-intervention, for non-intervention has never been practised, but that the restraints on the conflict spreading will be considerably weakened.

Franco's rejection will mean a new difficulty in France over the question of the closing of the Spanish frontier, which at present prevents munitions and supplies entering Government Spain, at a time when the Popular Front Government is sure to be affected by its reversal of its policy of the universal forty-hour week.

As things stand the rejection will mean an end to the Anglo-Italian agreement, as this was subject to a "settlement" of the Spanish situation—a settlement which had to include the withdrawal of Italian troops from Franco's Spain.

It will mean that the Mediterranean will again become the focal point of European unrest with possible repercussions in Palestine. It will probably lead to profound changes in our own British political alignments.

Rightly or wrongly Chamberlain relied upon the good faith of the Italian Government. It appears that his confidence has been misplaced. The Italian Government accepted the Non-Intervention Plan after months and months of debate and negotiations, and what the Italian Government had agreed to has now been rejected by Franco. He could only have rejected the plan under the advice and with the concurrence of the Italian Government, who can order the return of these troops at any time.

In addition, the Italian Government, in reply to British representations, has not denied the dispatch of further supplies and reinforcements to Franco, but has justified this on the ground that stores and equipment must be replenished for the troops already there. Such replenishment is denied to the Government side in accordance with the non-intervention understanding.

### AMERICA AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MR. CORDELL HULL, the American Secretary of State, gave a broadcast speech to the American people which has received world-wide publicity. It was an unhappy speech and betrayed the American weakness in world affairs. It had the veneer of a broadminded utterance, but it was in fact filled with platitudes and a partisan bias which ruined it for any effective peace purpose.

This same weakness showed itself again when President Roosevelt gave Canada a meaningless pledge of American support against acts of aggression.

America is still sufficiently remote to be the one great Power that could and should see the problems of the world, and especially Europe, from a detached and objective angle.

She could, if she would, give the world a great lead for peace. But she has developed a partisanship in world affairs which makes her leadership impossible and classes her as an agitator.

She knows the pater of peace but she cannot apply it. President Roosevelt's and Mr. Hull's speeches merely gash and tear at the wound which festers the world today.

### JAPAN AND GREAT BRITAIN

THE British Ambassador to Japan is now meeting the Japanese Foreign Minis-

## AN OLD BOTTLE MADE INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIPS

From a Correspondent

AT the little seaside village of Thorpeness in Suffolk, last year, Kenneth B., the son of one of the local fishermen, found an old bottle. He wondered how far the bottle would travel if it was tightly corked and allowed to float about in the sea.

So he got a scrap of paper, wrote on it his name and address and asked the finder to write him a letter. Then, little knowing what might be the consequences, he flung it into the sea and watched it drift away until it was lost to sight.

For two months and two days this bottle was tossed about in the North Sea, being driven hither and thither by the wind and tide, until finally it was

washed up on the shore of a little island off the coast of Holland.

Here, on August 22, 1937, it was picked up by two Dutch schoolboys, who, glad of the opportunity of trying out the English they were learning at school, wrote a letter back to Kenneth.

I was on a holiday at Thorpeness at the time and can testify to the excitement that this letter caused among the simple and untravelled folk of the village.

### EXCHANGE OF LETTERS

But it did not end there. Several letters were exchanged, and eventually Kenneth was invited to go and spend a week in Holland during February of this year.

Since then several more interchanges of visits have been arranged and at the moment the two Dutch boys are spending a week of their holiday with Kenneth at Thorpeness, having ridden across England to Wales and back on their bicycles!

Who can tell the influence that old bottle has had on quite a number of lives?

## Seven Nations Represented at Summer School

From Our Special Correspondent

The summer school of the International Peace Academy, founded by Mr. and Mrs. B. de Ligt, was opened on August 16 at Jouy-en-Josas, near Paris, under the chairmanship of Dr. Har Dayal. It was attended by about 68 persons from England, France, Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, and India. The academy aims at education for peace in all its aspects.

Mr. B. de Ligt was unfortunately unable to be present on account of serious illness,

### NO RECRUITING IN Y.M.C.A.

BLACKBURN

The military authorities here were recently refused permission to display a recruiting poster in the Y.M.C.A. Shortly afterward it was suggested to the secretary of the Y.M.C.A. that it would be more suitable to display PEACE NEWS instead. He has now consented to display the paper regularly in the reading room.

but his two lectures on "Introduction to the Science of Peace" were read on Wednesday and Thursday mornings and discussion was continued in the evenings.

On Friday and Saturday Dr. Har Dayal delivered two lectures on "Anthropology and War." On the following day a small group studied Simone Weil's article *Reflexions sur la guerre*, and on Monday and Tuesday Dr. J. Groeneveld, of Amsterdam, gave two lectures on "Psychology and War."

The proceedings were carried on in English, French, German, and Esperanto. Herr Pastor von Greyerz, Herr von Spragg, the Rev. J. Lidster, and Fraulein Weber were among those who took part in the discussions.

### SOVIET-JAPANESE DISPUTE

SO far the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow has been unable to reach agreement with the Soviet Foreign Commissar on the documentary material to be examined by the Soviet-Manchukuo Border Commission. The Ambassador has contested M. Litvinoff's claim that only the map attached to the Hungchung Treaty should be used.

Legally speaking, it would appear that, in negotiating with Japan, the USSR is implicitly recognizing the Japanese occupation of Manchukuo, for the Hungchung Treaty was between Russia and China.

M. Litvinoff would be aware of this, however, so it is probably one of the reasons why he is insisting that only the map in question, and not material in the possession of the Japanese Government, should go before the Commission. It remains to be seen whether Japan will eventually agree to this.

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